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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 121.

In the Debate begun in our last, the next Speech we shall give, was that made by M. Valerius Corvus, the Purport of which was as follows, viz.

Mr. President,
S I R,



BEFORE this Motion was made, I expected, and, I find, I am not disappointed, that Endeavours would be used to persuade the House, that we ought not to address for removing a Minister, unless we have such Proofs against him, as may be a sufficient Ground for impeaching him. This seems to be the Scope of the Argument made use of by the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, and if this were to be admitted, there never could be any such Thing as an Address to remove a Minister; for if a Minister has been guilty of Crimes, and if any Member of this House should have Information thereof, and sufficient Evidence for supporting

the Charge, he ought not to move for an Address to remove such a Minister, it would be his Duty to lay his Information fully before the House, and to conclude with a Motion for impeaching him, either of High Treason, or of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, according to the Nature of the Charge. The most weak, the most continued Series of blundering Conduct, could never be admitted as a Foundation for addressing our Sovereign to remove him; and thus, if he continued in the Favour of his Prince, which is not at all impossible, he might go on blundering, till he had blundered himself, his King, and his Country into irretrievable Perdition.

I shall grant, Sir, that this House has seldom proceeded to address for the Removal of a Minister, unless he was suspected of something that was acknowledged to be criminal, but this did not proceed from its being necessary to alledge something criminal as a Foundation for such an Address, but because weak Ministers are generally wicked as well

as weak: By their Weakness they run themselves into Measures which they find they cannot justify, and for which they ought to be removed, and then to prevent their Removal, they lead themselves into Measures for which they ought to be punished. This is the true Reason why such Addresses have generally been founded upon the Suspicion of Wickedness as well as Weakness; because when there were two Reasons for removing a Minister from the King's Councils, the House was certainly in the right to insist upon both. But let it be Weakness, or let it be Wickedness, for which a Minister is to be removed, will any Gentleman say, that it is necessary to mention particular Facts, and that we ought to have a Proof of these Facts, before we can address for the Removal of a Minister? The Hon. Gentleman talks of bare Surmises and general Arguments, as if they could not afford the least Ground for such an Address. Sir, they not only afford some Ground, but they are the only Ground upon which such an Address can be founded; because when there is any Thing farther than a bare Surmise, we ought, as I have said, to go farther than a bare Address.

But by such an Address, it seems, we are to blacken the Character of an Hon. Gentleman who has served his Country for many Years, and during several Reigns, with great Wisdom and Integrity. It is a great Misfortune, Sir, to those who have so high an Opinion of his Wisdom and Integrity, that the general Voice of their Country is against them, and that the Situation of Affairs, both at home and abroad, seems to be a demonstrative Proof against them; but let the Hon. Gentleman's Character for Wisdom and Integrity be ever so great, it cannot be blackened by the Address of this House, because a Man's Character

does not depend upon what a Court of Justice does or refuses to do against him, but upon the Opinion the World has of what a Court of Justice ought to do. Should we address the King to remove one that is generally supposed to be an upright and wise Minister, would that Address blacken his Character? No, Sir, it would only blast our own. Should we refuse to address the King to remove one who is generally thought to be a weak and wicked Minister, would that Refusal brighten his Character? No, Sir, but it would blacken the Character of this House in the Eyes of all those who had such an Opinion of him.

I hope, Gentlemen will consider this, and if they do, I am sure, they must reflect more seriously upon the Constitution of this House than they seem to do, when they say, that the Sentiments of the Majority of the better Sort of People in the Nation, are to be judged of from what appears to be the Sentiments of the Majority of this House. It is well known, Sir, how unequally the Nation is represented in this House. I believe, it will be allowed, that the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, the Borough of *Southwark*, and the County of *Middlesex*, contain at least *one fifth* of the People of the whole Nation, yet they have but *ten* Representatives in this House, which makes not quite a *55th* Part of the Number of Members in this Assembly; and what is very remarkable, I believe, it will appear, whatever may be the Fate of this Motion, that of these *ten*, there will be *eight* upon the affirmative Side of the Question. If we consider our Counties and great Cities, and compare them with our little Boroughs, the Disproportion will be found almost as great, which shews, that we ought not to judge of the Sentiments of the better Sort of People, from what appears

appears to be the Sentiments of the Majority of this House; and if we consider, that several Gentlemen of this House take upon them to vote, in many Questions, against the declared Sentiments of their Constituents, the Fallaciousness of this Way of judging will appear still more apparent. Therefore, I would not have Gentlemen plume themselves too much in a Majority of this House, or conclude from thence, that they have a Majority of the better Sort of People upon their Side of the Question; for if the Members of this House are to be supposed to speak the Sentiments of their Constituents, and if we consider the Places and not the Persons that vote upon each Side of the Question, it will appear, that the Sentiments of the Majority of the better Sort of People, are often very different from what appears to be the Sentiments of the Majority of this House.

If we judge by this Rule, Sir, which is the only proper Way of judging, we shall find, that this Minister's Conduct, almost in every remarkable Step, with regard both to foreign and domestick Affairs, has been disapproved of by a great Majority of the better Sort of People in the Nation, tho' not by a Majority of this House; and I am sure, no Man that knows any Thing of what passes without Doors, will pretend to deny his being complained of, and even exclaimed against by a great Majority of the People. In former Times, Sir, *Vox Populi est Vox Dei*, was held to be a Maxim among all those who called themselves *Whigs*, and even Ministers themselves, of whatever Denomination, were obliged to shew a great Regard to it; but since we have fallen into the Custom of keeping up numerous standing Armies, this Maxim has been despised by our Ministers, even by those Ministers

that called themselves *Whigs*, and the Populace, or what Ministers and their Friends call, the Mob, has been held in Contempt, as if it were possible to suppose, that the Populace, or meaner Sort, can be generally discontented, when the better Sort are generally pleased with the Conduct of our publick Affairs. The Populace in all Countries are the Servants, and, unless when agitated by some Flash of enthusiastical Madness, speak the Sentiments of the better Sort. The latter, as they have something to lose beside their Lives, may not, perhaps, be so ready to break out, or to fall into outrageous Measures against an established Government, but except in the Case I have mentioned, the meaner Sort, or the Mob, never become outrageous, unless they are spirited up by the Discontents and secret Grumbings of their Masters. A wise and a good Minister will always, therefore, aim at Popularity even amongst the meanest Sort of People, because from them he may most certainly learn his real Character among those of the better Sort. The former have nothing to hope for by flattering him, and much less to fear than their Masters, from uttering those Complaints openly and freely, which are in a secret, or indirect Manner instilled into them by those that give them Bread.

The People I shall grant, Sir, are in all Countries fond of Changes of Ministers or Magistrates. In free Countries they are fond of them, because such Changes are necessary for the Security and Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the People; and in absolute Governments, as Ministers and Magistrates are generally oppressive, the People have Reason to be fond of any Change. This Fondness is therefore in all Countries founded upon solid Reasons, and accordingly we find, that

People of all Ranks and Degrees, except Ministers themselves, and their Creatures, are equally fond of such Changes; but to say, that the People of any Degree in a Country that subsists by Trade and Industry, delight in War, is, I think, a very great Mistake. If we examine the Histories of our own Country, we shall find, that the Nation has been led into unnecessary and destructive Wars by the Whims of a Court, and that by the same Sort of Whims, we have sometimes remained at Peace, when we ought to have declared War; but we shall never find, that the People in general were for entering into an unnecessary War, or for our continuing in Peace when it appeared necessary to declare War. In King *James Ist's* Time, it was certainly the Interest of this Nation, and would have redounded very much to our Honour, to have supported the *Protestant* Interest in *Germany*, by entering heartily into that War; but we had at that Time such a pacifick Court, that neither the Honour nor Interest of this Nation, nor the Safety of the *Protestant* Religion, could prevail with our Court to declare War, or to give the *Protestants* any effectual Assistance. What did the People do upon that Occasion? Did not they declare almost unanimously for War? Did not they exclaim against the then Ministers, for allowing the *Palatinate* Family to be ruined, and the *Protestant* Religion extirpated both in the *Palatinate* and in *Bohemia*. In *K. Charles Ild's* Time, we were involved by our Court in two Wars against the *Dutch*: I believe, no Man will now say, they were necessary: I believe it will now be admitted, that both were contrary to the true Interest of this Nation, and destructive to the Balance of Power in *Europe*: Accordingly, the People declared against both. And lastly, Sir, I be-

lieve, we all remember, how generally the People declared for a War with *Spain*, long before our Minister could be prevailed on, either by the Insults of *Spain*, or the Complaints of our own People, to declare War against that Nation. The Event has shewn, that the People were in the right. What had been often foretold in this House, at last appeared to be true, That without a War it would be impossible to obtain either Satisfaction or Security from the *Spaniards*; and surely it must now be allowed, that if we had begun this War eight Years ago, when the *Emperor* was attacked by the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, it would have been greatly to our Honour as well as Advantage, and might have prevented the present melancholy Posture of Affairs in *Europe*.

Thus, Sir, if we examine our own Histories we shall find, that at all Times, when our Ministers and People have differed in Opinion with regard to War or Peace, the People have generally been in the right; and for this it is easy to assign a Reason, because the People can be directed in their Judgment by nothing but the general Interest, whereas Ministers are too often directed by particular Interests of their own, or by the particular Interest, perhaps the particular Whim of their Sovereign, in complying with which, Ministers are apt to be extremely complaisant, for the Sake of continuing themselves in Power, especially when they think, they can by Corruption, or any other Method, prevent their being called to an Account in Parliament.

From hence, Sir, we may see, that the Unpopularity of our Minister does not proceed from an unreasonable Fondness in our People for War, or from any childish Desire of being astonished with extraordinary Events, but from their having judged better, and more disinterestedly, of the

the Circumstances of our foreign Affairs, and the true Interest of their Country; and if he has incurred the Displeasure of all Ranks of People, upon this or any other Account, his Character is already branded: It cannot be farther branded by an Address of this House to remove him: On the contrary, it may by that Means be vindicated; because after his Removal, and not till then, a strict and impartial Inquiry may be made into his Conduct, and by that Inquiry his Character may be cleared of those Suspicions that now lie so heavy upon it. This, I say, may be the Consequence of the Address proposed, and then he may again be employed by his Majesty; but whilst he labours under a general Suspicion of Weakness or Wickedness, will any one say, he is fit for being in his Majesty's Councils, and far less for being his Majesty's sole Adviser? Let the People be never so bad Judges of a Man's Virtue or Wisdom: Let the Clamours against the Minister's Conduct be never so groundless, can his Majesty expect any Confidence from his Parliament, while his Councils are directed by a Minister against whom there is a general Suspicion and Clamour.

Surely, Sir, if there be any Connexion between the Sentiments of the Majority of this Assembly, and the Sentiments of the People: If we are to judge of the Sentiments of the People, by what appears to be the Sentiments of the Majority of this Assembly, we may, on the other hand, judge of what will be the Sentiments of the Majority of next Parliament, from what are the present Sentiments of the People; and if the Majority of next Parliament should consist of such as have the same Opinion of this Minister as the People generally have, can his Majesty expect any Confidence from such a Parliament? Can it be

expected that they will trust the Government of their Country to a Man who, they think, will ruin it by his Weakness, or betray it by his Wickedness? Sir, the Chusing of a new Parliament, whilst such a Minister is, or is supposed to be the sole Director of our publick Councils, must necessarily be of the most dangerous Consequence, either to our happy Constitution, or to our present happy Establishment. If the People are left to their free Choice, in the present Humour they are in, they will certainly chuse such for their Representatives as have been the most professed and steady Enemies to him; and among them a Majority may get in of such as are secretly disaffected to the Illustrious Family now upon our Throne, which would certainly be of the most dangerous Consequence to our present happy Establishment. On the other hand, if the People should not be left to their free Choice, if they should be directed in their Choice by Corruption and other illegal Practices, and thereby a Majority should be chosen consisting of such as are the Creatures and Tools of the Minister, what might we not apprehend from such a Majority during the long Course of a *Septennial* Parliament? Could we expect, that such a Majority would have any Regard to the Liberties and Privileges of the People? Must we not expect, that they would put an End to our happy Constitution, when we consider, that the future Safety both of themselves and their Patron would depend upon its final Overthrow?

It is so apparent to me, Sir, that one or other of these Dangers must be the Consequence of having a new Parliament chosen, whilst such an unpopular Minister is at the Helm of Affairs, that I cannot believe, any Man, who considers the Question in this Light, will be against

gainst it, unless he be a secret Enemy, either to our Constitution, or to our present Establishment. If there be any amongst us, as I hope there are not, who are afraid of having our Constitution restored to its pristine Vigour, by the Choice of an independent and free Parliament, they have Reason to be against this Motion; and I am sure, if I were a *Jacobite* in my Heart, there is nothing I should wish more eagerly than to see a Negative put upon the Question, because I should from thence expect, that my Friends would stand a fair Chance, in every Part of the Kingdom, of getting themselves chosen Members of this House at the next ensuing Elections.

I hope, I have now shewn, Sir, that the Minister proposed by this Motion to be removed, must be allowed to be a very unpopular Minister; that his Character can be no Way blackened by this Address farther than it is already, but, on the contrary, may be cleared of the Cloud of Suspicion which now hangs lowering over it; and that his Continuance in Power must be of the most dangerous Consequence, either to our Constitution, or to our present Establishment. I have no Occasion to prove, and, indeed, it is impossible to prove, that he is the chief Adviser, and sole Director of all our publick Affairs: It is sufficient for my Argument, if he be generally supposed to be so; and that this Supposition is general without Doors, is apparent from the continual Application made to him in all Branches of publick Business: No Man, we see, expects to get any Business done with, or to obtain any Favour from the Crown, without making some Sort of Application to him; for if he puts a Negative upon it, that Negative has often been found to prevail against the strongest Interest that could any

other Way be made in its Favour. This is the Case, this has long been the Case, with regard to all Affairs of a domestick Nature; and with regard to those that are foreign, do not we know, that some very near A Friend of his has been employed in all our Negotiations that were of any great Importance to the Nation? Our other Ministers may, perhaps, have had from him the Liberty to nominate a Resident, or an Envoy to some of the Northern B Crowns, or to some of the little Princes of *Germany* or *Italy*; but when any important Negotiation was set on Foot with *Holland*, *France*, or *Spain*, every one knows who they are that have been always employed, and by whose Recommendation C they were appointed; and our many fruitless Negotiations, and as fruitless Treaties, have sufficiently testified their great Abilities.

These Circumstances, Sir, have most justly created a general Supposition, that this Minister has been D for many Years, and is still, the sole Director of all our publick Affairs; and this Supposition it will be impossible for our other Ministers to remove, by simply asserting, that it is not so. I have, Sir, a very great Opinion of their Veracity; but this E does not depend upon their Veracity, but their Judgment; because an artful Minister may make them believe, they act freely and without Direction, when all but themselves see, they can do nothing without his Consent or Connivance. However, I must tell them, that they have not in this Case an equal Title with others to be believed, because their own Honour is very much concerned in the Question; for as a Prime Minister is inconsistent with our Constitution, when any one Minister, by his Favour G with the Prince upon the Throne, usurps the sole Direction of all our publick Affairs, no Man of Honour will

will then continue in the Administration, because he does not then serve his Prince; but his Prince's Prime Minister. This is what no Man of any Pretence to Honour will confess, and therefore, when he asserts the contrary, he has not an equal Title to be believed with those, who are neither in Honour nor Interest concerned in the Question.

I therefore wish, Sir, that some Hon. Gentlemen would save themselves the Trouble of denying, that our publick Affairs are now under the sole Influence of this Minister, because, considering some late Circumstances, and their known Interest in the Question, they cannot expect to be believed, and because the very Supposition of its being so, is sufficient for the Argument I have advanced. The very Supposition, that this Minister is a sole, and Prime Minister, must expose our present Establishment to Danger at the next general Elections; but this is far from being the only Danger we are exposed to by this Minister's Continuance in Power. We know the present ticklish State of the Affairs of *Europe*: We know what a Danger the Balance of Power is now in; and we know what a Discredit his past Conduct has brought upon our Councils at every Court in *Europe*. If he is supposed to continue in the chief Direction of our publick Affairs, can we expect a Confidence from any of those Courts? Can we expect, that any of the Potentates of *Europe* will enter into an Alliance with us, for restoring or preserving the Balance of Power? From Experience we know how little capable he is of conducting any Negotiation; therefore, if he continues but one Year longer at the Head of our Councils, we have Reason to apprehend some false Step or Blunder, which may put it out of the Power of any future Admini-

nistration to recover our Affairs, or to form any Scheme for securing the Liberties of *Europe*; and if all the Powers thereof should be obliged to submit to the Direction of our most dangerous Rival, what can this Nation at last expect?

This Danger, Sir, is so apparent, and is now become so imminent, that our complying with this Motion is, in my Opinion, a Duty we owe both to our King and Country. Suppose I thought this Minister guilty of no Crime; suppose I had approved of every Step of his past Conduct, yet the Weakness of his Measures appears now so plain from their Effects, both abroad and at home, that I should be for addressing to remove a Minister, who had led me, as well as his Country, into such fatal Errors. Political Measures, Sir, are of such an abstruse Nature, and so often admit of a false Gloss, that a Mistake can no Way derogate from the Understandings of those, who are obliged to judge of them, without having all the Lights necessary for forming a right Judgment. I know there are many Gentlemen in this House, who have approved of most of this Minister's Measures: According to the Lights they viewed them in at the Time, they appear'd wise and right; but will any Gentleman now say, they were so? Will any Gentleman now say, the Treaty of *Hanover* was a right Measure? Will any one now approve of the Measures taken, and the Expence we put ourselves to, in Pursuance of that Treaty? Will any one now say, we ought to have gone precipitately into a general Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, without stipulating the least Satisfaction for any Prince in *Germany*, with regard to the Claims he had upon the House of *Austria*.

Surely, Sir, before we entered into that Guaranty, we should have taken care, that more than one Half of

of Germany should not be engaged in Interest to oppose that which we had guarantied. The Claims now set up by Prussia were certainly known to our Ministers, before we guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction*: For him at least we ought to have stipulated such a Satisfaction, as would in Interest, as well as by Treaty, have engaged him in the same Interest with us. If we had done this, neither the *Pragmatick Sanction*, nor the Liberties of Europe would now have been in any Danger; and therefore, I cannot think, any Man will now pretend to justify our having so precipitately entered into a general Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*: Nay, I believe, even our Minister himself would not have done so, if he had not been forced to it, in order to extricate himself out of the Dilemma he had brought himself into by the Treaty of *Seville*; for however jealous some of the neighbouring Princes of Germany may be, of an Increase of Power in the House of Brandenburg, surely no English Minister could be actuated by any such Jealousy; and therefore, I believe, even our Minister himself would have stipulated Satisfaction for the King of Prussia, with regard to his Claims in *Silesia*, before entering into that Guaranty, if he had not been forced to it by the Dilemma I have mentioned.

By these Measures, Sir, and by our neglecting to perform our Guaranty to the Emperor in the Year 1733, the Balance of Power, and the Liberties of Europe have been brought into their present Danger. This Danger is not owing to the Emperor's Death, as the Friends of our Minister endeavour to insinuate; for if we had taken right Measures, if we had not taken wrong Measures, nay, if we had not pursued a long Series of wrong Measures, the Emperor's Death could have made little or no Alteration in the Affairs of

Europe; so that the Emperor's Death had nothing in it fatal to the Liberties of Europe, but its happening before this Nation had an Opportunity to get rid of this Minister, and to rectify the Errors it had been led into by him. This, indeed, was very unfortunate, and if he continues but for one Year longer to have the same Influence upon our Councils, I may prophesy, that without some very signal Intervention of Providence, it will be fatal to the Liberties of Europe in general, and consequently to the Liberties of this Nation in particular. At the respective Times these Measures were taken, they were set in such a Light by our Minister and his Advocates, that I do not wonder at their having been approved of by every one, who had any Confidence either in his Wisdom or Integrity; but their Weakness, I shall not say Wickedness, appears now so plain, from the Effects they have produc'd, that no Man, not even the Minister himself, can approve of them; and therefore every Man must think, he ought at least to be removed for his Weakness. His pursuing such Measures, his undertaking, as he did by the Treaty of *Hanover*, to pull down the over-grown Power of the House of Austria, may perhaps have proceeded from Wickedness: It may have proceeded from his having a greater Regard for a foreign Interest, because it coincided with his own, than he had for the Interest of his native Country; but this cannot be made appear, as long as he is Master of all the Proofs, and has all the Favours of the Crown at his Disposal; and therefore, the first Step we must take towards discovering his Wickedness, must be to remove him for his Weakness, which, with regard to the general Interest of Europe, must now, as I have said, plainly appear, even to those who have

have hitherto had the best Opinion of his Conduct.

And now, Sir, with regard to the particular Interest of this Nation, will any one now say, that it was wise or right to allow *Spain* to amuse us, for so many Years together, with trifling Negotiations, especially as they were, during the whole Time, interrupting our Trade and Navigation, and daily plundering our Merchants? Will any one now say, it was wise or right to conclude with *Spain* a sham Treaty, called a Convention, without obtaining any Satisfaction for past Injuries, or any Promise of Security against future, nay, without obtaining so much as a Promise for an Intermission of Insults? When any Point happens to be in dispute, by which the Nation is not exposed to any immediate Loss or Suffering, our Ministers may negotiate about it and about it: They may even conclude insignificant Treaties relating to it, in order to avoid an immediate Rupture, by insisting upon an immediate Discussion; but when we suffer daily and greatly by the Point in dispute, and have it in our Power to command an immediate Discussion, surely our Ministers ought not then to allow themselves to be amused with tedious Negotiations or unmeaning Treaties; and much less after they have put their Country to a great Expence in preparing for a Rupture, which was our Case at the Time we concluded that insignificant Treaty, called the Convention.

I am really surpris'd, Sir, to hear an Attempt now made to justify that ridiculous Treaty, or to hear any one say, the Court of *Spain* had an Inclination to grant us any real Satisfaction or Security. Suppose they had by the Treaty expressly allowed, as they did not, that 200,000*l.* was due to us in Name of Damages for the Injuries

we had suffered, but that they should, out of this 200,000*l.* deduct, upon sham Pretences, no less than 173,000*l.* so as to leave no more than 27,000*l.* to be actually paid to us; must not every one see, that this would have been no more than a complaisant Concession, made by the Ministers of *Spain* to the Ministers of *Great Britain*, in order to furnish the latter with something wherewith to amuse their own People? And as it now appears from the Papers upon our Table, that *Spain* not only insisted upon her Right to search our Ships in the *American* Seas, but that we had no Right to sail in those Seas, unless we observed what they might be pleased to call a *due Course*, it is very surprising to hear it still asserted, that *Spain* had ever the least Thought of granting us a free Navigation, or the least Inclination to live in Peace with us, unless we continued to allow their *Guarda Costa's* to interrupt our Navigation, and to plunder or seize our Merchant Ships. These Pretences were not set up by verbal Declarations made to our Minister or Negotiator in *Spain*, but by written Memorials delivered or transmitted to our Court here; and as all these Memorials must have been taken into Consideration in his Majesty's Cabinet Council, it is equally surprising to hear it pretended, that our Chief Minister was, or could possibly be, ignorant of them.

I shall conclude, Sir, with a short Reply to what has been said in Answer to the Charge against this Minister, of his having endeavoured to obtain a corrupt Influence over both Houses of Parliament. This the Hon. Gentleman admits to be a heavy Charge; but, says he, It is a Fact which, if true, may certainly be proved; and for this Purpose he provokes any Member to rise up, and say, that the Minister ever

ever desired him, or tempted him, either by Threats or Promises, to vote against his Conscience in Parliament. Can it be supposed, Sir, that any Minister would be such a Fool as to talk so to a Member of this House? Is there the least Occasion for him to expose himself in this Manner? Two or three Examples: Two or three Gentlemen being turned out of their Posts, after having opposed the Minister's Measures in Parliament, will be a sufficient Warning or Threatning to all the rest of the Members of either House of Parliament, that hold any Office or Employment at the Pleasure of the Crown, and also to all those that hope for, or expect any Favour from the Crown. By these Examples every one will see, that none of the Favours of the Crown are to be held or expected, but by resigning their Consciences in Parliament to the Dictates of the Prime Minister; and this will be as effectual upon all those of venal Minds or necessitous Circumstances, as if the Minister had taken them one by one aside, and threatned them expressly with the Loss of their Employments, or with a Disappointment to their Hopes, in case they should oppose any of his Measures in Parliament.

This is therefore the only Proof we can have of a Minister's endeavouring to gain a corrupt Influence over both Houses of Parliament; and can it be said, Sir, that we have no Proof of this Kind against the Minister now proposed to be removed? Do not we all know, that many eminent Members of both Houses of Parliament have been lately removed from every Office they held at the Pleasure of the Crown, soon after their having opposed some of this Minister's Projects in Parliament, and that no Cause for their Removal ever was, or could be assigned, but their having voted

according to the Dictates of their Conscience, in Opposition to the Dictates of the Minister? Do not we all know, that it has been the constant Maxim of his Administration, to confer none of the Favours of the Crown, but upon such as voted according to his Directions at Elections or in Parliament? Nay, Sir, he has gone farther than any Minister before him ever did: He has declared this to be his Maxim openly: He has avowed it in the Face of this very Assembly; and shall we desire or seek for a Proof of a criminal Fact, which the Criminal himself has avowed and boasted of in this very Assembly?

The Excuse made for this open Attack upon our Constitution, is a new Confession of the Minister's Guilt. Is the Minister, is the King himself to take Notice of the Opposition made by any Gentleman in Parliament? Has the Minister, has the King himself a Right to judge or determine, whether or no such an Opposition be indiscreetly and indecently carried on, or whether it proceeds from Resentment or from Conscience? Sir, there would be an End of the Freedom of Speech in Parliament, at least with regard to all Gentlemen, who held or expected any Office or Place depending upon the Pleasure of the Crown, if the King himself should assume such a Right; and therefore, any Minister that advises him to do so, must be guilty of a very high Misdemeanor. If any Gentleman should speak or behave himself indecently or indiscreetly here, the House would certainly take Notice of it; and whilst a Gentleman behaves himself decently and discreetly, whatever Opposition he makes to any Question in this Assembly, must and ought to be supposed to proceed from Motives of Honour and Conscience, and not from Motives of Malice or Resentment. If the Crown,

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or rather the Ministers of the Crown, were allowed a Right to judge in such Cases, every Word spoke against them would be deemed to be indecent, and every Opposition to their Measures would be supposed to proceed from Malice or Resentment; and thus they would conclude, they had a just and legal Reason for turning every Man out of the Service of the Crown, that should oppose any of their Measures in Parliament.

Sir, the King may, 'tis true, exercise some of the Prerogatives of the Crown without asking the Advice of any Minister; but if he does make a wrong Use of any of these Prerogatives, his Ministers must answer for it, if they continue to be his Ministers. This, Sir, is one of the Advantages of our Constitution, and it is a very high Advantage; because it makes it dangerous for Ministers to endeavour to gain a superior Degree of Favour with the King, by humouring the Passions and Frailties of human Nature, by which Kings, as well as other Men, are too apt to be governed. But this Advantage we lose, Sir, when we happen to have an unpopular Minister, or one who fears the Resentment of the People, and has no Way to guard against it, but by gaining a corrupt Majority in Parliament; for such a Man must for his own Safety endeavour to humour his Sovereign in all his Passions and Frailties, for the Sake of preserving his Favour, upon which alone his personal Safety, as well as his Power, depends; and if such a Man should, by such Means, solely engross the Favour of his Master, and thereby gain a corrupt Majority in both Houses of Parliament, I should be glad to know what Controul he is under, or by what legal Means our Constitution could be restored. This unlucky Situation we may fall into by having the

same Minister too long continued in Power. This Danger we have, I think, some Reason to apprehend from our present Minister's being longer continued in Power; and therefore I shall be for agreeing to the Motion now under our Consideration.

The next Speech we shall give upon this Subject, was that made by Cn. Octavius, which was in Substance thus:

*Mr. President,
S I R,*

I Do not stand up at this Time of Night, either to accuse or to flatter any Man. Since I have had the Honour to sit in Parliament, I have opposed the Measures of the Administration, because I thought them wrong; and as long as they are so, I shall continue to give as constant an Opposition to them. The State of the Nation, by the Conduct of our Ministers, is deplorable: A War is destroying us abroad, and Poverty and Corruption are devouring us at home. But whatever I may think of Men, God forbid, that my private Opinion should be the only Rule of my Judgment: I should desire to have an exterior Conviction from Facts and Evidence; and without these I am so far from condemning, that I would not censure any Man. I am fully satisfied in my own Mind, that there are those who give pernicious and destructive Counsels; and, I hope, a Time will come, when a proper, legal, parliamentary Inquiry may be made, and when clear Facts and full Evidence will plainly discover, who are the Enemies of their Country.

A noble Lord, to whom I had the Honour to be related, has been often mentioned in this Debate: He was impeached and imprisoned; by that Imprisonment his Years were shortened; and the Prosecution was

carried on by the Hon. Person, who is now the Subject of your Question, though he knew at that very Time, that there was no Evidence to support it. I am now, Sir, glad of this Opportunity to return Good for Evil, and to do that Hon. Gentleman and his Family that Justice, which he denied to mine.

We shall next give the Substance of the Speech made by M. Cato upon this Occasion, which was as follows, viz.

*Mr. President;
S I R,*

TH O' it is now very late, yet I did not, at first, think of speaking so early in the Debate, because I had a Mind to have heard first what the Hon. Gentleman had to say in his own Vindication; but since the House seems to be of Opinion, that he ought to be the last Speaker in this Debate, I find myself obliged to alter my Intention, and to give you my Sentiments upon the Question, before I hear what he has to say. As this, I say, seems to be the Opinion of the House, I shall not presume to say it is partial; but I must observe, that it is contrary to the established Practice in all other Cases in this House, and in all the Courts of Justice I have ever heard of; for both in this House, upon all other Occasions, and in all other Courts, the Petitioner or Prosecutor is always allow'd to reply; and if this Method had been observed upon this Occasion, I should have reserved myself for the Reply, in which Case I should have taken particular Care not to have mentioned any new Charge, but would have confined myself intirely to those Facts, that had been before mentioned in the Debate. This should have been my Method, had I been allowed to speak by Way of Reply; but now, I think, I may

take the Liberty, if I think fit, to take Notice of some Facts that have not been yet mentioned in the Debate; and I hope the House will give me Leave to explain a little farther, some of those weak or wicked Measures that have been already mentioned.

To begin, Sir, with our foreign Affairs: I must go a little farther back than the Treaty of *Hanover*, in order to shew the Weakness of that Treaty; and if I can shew, that the Minister, whose Conduct is now the Subject of Debate, must himself have been conscious of the Weakness of that Treaty, it was then wicked in him to approve of it, or to pursue that pernicious Plan of Politicks, upon which it was founded. Sir, the Plan, and the right Plan of Politicks, which had been pursu'd during the whole Reign of King *William*, and the whole Reign of Queen *Anne*, till towards the latter End of it, when a new Ministry began to take new Measures, was to diminish the Power of the House of *Bourbon*, and add to the Power of the House of *Austria*, in order to preserve a Balance of Power in *Europe*. In Execution of this Plan we joined, not as Auxiliaries, but as Principals, in two dangerous Wars against *France*: We expended many Millions; we run ourselves many Millions in Debt, most Part of which remains as yet a Load upon this Nation; and the Earl of *Oxford*, our Minister at the End of the Queen's Reign, was impeach'd the Beginning of last Reign, for not pursuing this Plan. The chief Article against that Minister was, his having, by the Peace of *Utrecht*, left the Power of the House of *Austria* too small in *Italy* and *Flanders*, and the Kingdom of *Spain* under a Sort of Dependence upon the Court of *France*. This, I say, was the chief Article of Impeachment against that noble Earl, and this

this our present Minister could not be ignorant of, because he was Chairman of that very Committee, which drew up those Articles of Impeachment, and was then one of the warmest Prosecutors of that noble Earl.

To remedy one of the Faults found with the Treaty of *Utrecht*, we entered into a Negotiation, soon after the Accession of his late Majesty, for giving *Sicily* to the Emperor, in Exchange for *Sardinia*, which Exchange was established by the Treaty of *London* in the Year 1716, and as that Treaty was signed by this very Gentleman, he could not be ignorant of the Plan of Politicks upon which it was founded. In Support of this Plan, we were obliged to engage in a War against *Spain*, which occasioned our destroying their Fleet in the *Mediterranean* in the Year 1718; and this very Plan was the chief Foundation of the *Quadruple Alliance*, which *Spain* afterwards acceded to, tho' the Conditions of that Accession are not, as yet, I believe, fully known. Thus we got one of the Faults found with the Treaty of *Utrecht* amended, and as to the other, it was by the Hand of God very soon removed; for by the Death of the late King of *France*, and the Regent's setting aside his Will, which, luckily for this Nation, happened soon after his late Majesty's Accession, the Dependence of the Court of *Spain* upon that of *France* was remov'd, and an Enmity established between the two Courts, which soon after broke out into an open War.

By these Means the two chief Faults that had been found with the Treaty of *Utrecht*, were both rectified; and thus the Affairs of *Europe* stood, when this Minister began first to have an Influence over our Councils. Whilst a Jealousy, or rather Enmity subsisted between the Courts

of *France* and *Spain*, it was reasonable enough for us to keep a Correspondence with the Court of *France*, especially as at that Time we had a Dispute with the Court of *Spain*; but as that Enmity ceased by the A Regent's Death, and as a good Correspondence was restored between these two Courts, by the young King of *France*'s being married to the Infanta of *Spain*, we ought then again to have begun to be upon our Guard against the Ambition of the B House of *Bourbon*, and for this Purpose we ought to have continued to cultivate a good Correspondence with the House of *Austria*, and we ought to have endeavoured, by all the artful Means we could think of, to interrupt that Correspondence, which had been re-established between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and to accommodate all the Differences subsisting between the Courts of *Spain* and *Vienna*. According to the Plan of Politicks pursued ever since the Revolution, these should have been the Ends proposed in all our Negotiations; and for accomplishing these Ends, a most happy and unlook'd-for Accident occurred, by the Court of *France*'s sending back the Infanta of *Spain*, and getting their King married to his present Queen. C

This, Sir, was one of the most lucky Accidents that could have happened for this Nation, and for *Europe*, if we had known how to have made the right Use of it. The Court of *Spain* immediately broke off all Correspondence with that of *France*, and offered to refer all their Differences with the Court of *Vienna* to our sole Mediation; but our present Minister had then got almost the sole Direction of our publick Councils, and upon this Occasion the Plan of Politicks he had laid down to himself, first began to appear: This Plan was, That as long as the Court of *France* did nothing

thing to disturb or interrupt his Possession of Power in this Kingdom, he would do nothing that might displease them; but on the contrary, would do all they desired, and connive at what they had a Mind to do, as far as was consistent with his Safety here at home. This, I say, was his Plan: That it is the Plan he has ever since pursued, I shall make appear from the whole Tenor of his Conduct; and, when we consider the Nature of it, we cannot wonder at his having employ'd such a near Relation, in concerting and establishing such a Plan. — In Pursuance of this Plan, and directly contrary to that Plan of Politicks we should have pursued, and for which we had expended so much Blood and Treasure, he refused to accept of this sole Mediation offer'd us by *Spain*, or to make any Advantage of this Difference that had happened between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*. From our refusing to accept of this Mediation, the Court of *France* had some Reason to hope, that the Differences between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* might remain unaccommodated, till she should find an Opportunity for making up the Breach occasioned by sending back the *Infanta* of *Spain*; but the Court of *Spain* were so irritated at the Affront put upon them, that they resolved at any Rate to accommodate their Differences with the Court of *Vienna*, and for this Purpose they sent a Minister privately to *Vienna*, by whose Means Treaties of Peace, Guaranty and Commerce were concluded between the two Courts in the Beginning of the Year 1725.

The Concluding of these Treaties, Sir, and the good Correspondence thereby established between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, gave a most just and reasonable Alarm to *France*. As the Court of *Spain* was highly and most justly ir-

ritated against her, and as the House of *Austria* was her most dangerous and most inveterate Enemy, she had great Reason to be afraid of a close Union between these two Powers: She had even some Reason to fear an immediate Attack. But all the other Powers of *Europe*, and this Nation in particular, according to our ancient and right Plan of Politicks, had Reason to rejoice at this Union: Even suppose the *Emperor* and *Spain* had jointly attack'd *France*, we might have look'd on with Indifference, till one of the Parties had begun to push her Conquests too far. Till this had happened, even the *Dutch* might have look'd on with Indifference; for tho' there was at that Time a Dispute subsisting between them and the *Emperor*, in relation to the *Ostend* Company, that Dispute was not of such Consequence as to occasion a Breach; and if the *Emperor* had, in Conjunction with *Spain*, resolved to attack *France*, he would certainly have sacrificed that Company, for the Sake of gaining a Neutrality from the *Dutch*.

Accordingly, Sir, we saw, that the *Dutch* testified no Apprehensions from those Treaties, or from the close Union thereby established between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. But upon this Occasion our Minister's Plan of Politicks produced a new Effect, which has been attended with many notable Mischiefs to this Nation, and has now at last quite overturned the Balance of Power in *Europe*. As *France* had most justly taken the Alarm, and found she could not instil any Fears into the *Dutch*, she had Recourse to our Minister here, in order to fill our Court with Apprehensions from those Treaties, that had been concluded between the *Emperor* and *Spain* at *Vienna*. For this Purpose, she invented a Story of her having had certain Information from *Vienna*, that there

there were some secret Articles, by which the *Emperor* and *Spain* had agreed to take *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* from us, to defeat the Protestant Succession by restoring the Pretender, and to ruin our Trade with *Spain* by granting many considerable Advantages to the *Emperor's* Subjects; and that the only Way we had to guard against these terrible Designs, was by entering into a defensive Alliance with her.

Tho' this Story was in itself ridiculous, because of its being impracticable for the *Emperor* and *Spain* to effectuate any of those Designs against us: Tho' both the *Emperor* and King of *Spain* expressly denied there being any such secret Articles: Tho' they invited us to accede to the Treaties concluded between them; and tho' it was very much the Nation's Interest to do so; yet such was our Minister's Influence over our Councils, such his Attachment to the Plan of Politicks he had laid down for his own Conduct, that he prevailed on his late Majesty to give Credit to this improbable French Story, and to conclude with *France* the Treaty of *Hanover* in September 1725, which Treaty the King of *Prussia* was drawn into, by making him believe, that one of the Designs of it was, to restore the Protestants of *Thorn*, and secure the Observance of the Treaty of *Oliva*; but he soon saw, the other contracting Parties had no such Design, and therefore he soon left them.

Thus, Sir, we were drawn in to secure *France* against being attack'd by the *Emperor* and *Spain*, when, according to our ancient Plan of Politicks, we should rather have promoted that Attack; because we might easily have taken care that neither Side should have pushed the War too far, and in the mean Time our Trade would have greatly increased by the Decay of the Trade of *France*. I know, Sir, it will be

said, that the Minister, whose Conduct is now the Question before us, had no hand in that Treaty, because he was not at *Hanover* when it was concluded; but as he had then the chief Direction of our Affairs, and as it is very improbable any *English* Minister at *Hanover* should conclude a Treaty of such Importance, without the Advice of the Council here, therefore the Treaty's being signed at *Hanover*, is no Proof of his having had no hand in it. But, I hope, it will not be pretended, that he had no hand in advising the Measures taken in Pursuance of this Treaty; and I shall now shew, that those Measures were more pernicious, and more plainly demonstrated his Dependence upon the Councils of *France*, than the Treaty itself. The Treaty was no more than a defensive Treaty, and if *France* had been attack'd, we were thereby obliged to furnish her with no more than 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse, and that not till two Months after Application should be made for them; so that we had not from this Treaty the least Occasion for putting ourselves to the Expence of augmenting our Army, or of taking any foreign Troops into our Pay, till such an Attack had been actually made; because we should then have had Time enough to provide our stipulated Quota of Troops. And suppose there had been some Truth in the Story of the secret Articles between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, we had no Occasion to put ourselves to the Expence of sending out any Squadrons, till such Time as we had certain Information of their providing a Fleet of Transports to invade us, because we should then have had Time enough to send out a Squadron sufficient for disappointing their Designs.

It is therefore impossible, Sir, to find out a Reason for the Measures we

we took in Pursuance of this Treaty, any other Way than by considering what was the Interest, and what at that Time might be the Views of the Court of *France*. From thence, indeed, we may find a Reason, and it was, I am fully convinced, the only true Reason. *France* had a Mind not only to guard against her being attacked, but it was her Interest, and she certainly intended, to break that Correspondence which had been established between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, and to chastise the Court of *Spain* a little for daring to take any Measures contrary to her Interest; and both these Ends they intended to accomplish by Means of her Influence upon our Minister, without putting herself to any great Expence, or coming to any open Breach either with the *Emperor* or *Spain*. Was this possible? Yes, Sir, by making the Cat's Paw of this Nation, she accomplish'd all she intended, and in the Manner she intended. The Necessity of pulling down the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria*, became now the favourite Topic of all our Court Politicians and Pamphleteers; and in order to prevent the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* from carrying their dangerous Designs into Execution, our Minister prevailed upon us to send out two powerful Squadrons, one to insult the *Spaniards* upon their own Coasts, and another to prevent the Return of the *Galleons*; but as *France* did not intend, that we should reap any Advantage to ourselves, or do *Spain* any real Injury, therefore, our Squadrons were not to attack the *Spaniards* either by Sea or Land, but only to persuade them, in case we met with them at Sea, to deliver their Treasure into our Hands, in Trust for the several Parties concerned.

Thus, Sir, *France* got us to chastise the Court of *Spain* for daring to take any Measures contrary to her

Interest; and then she made a Merit at that Court, of her having prevented us from doing any Mischief to them, notwithstanding their having declared War against us, and openly attacked our Town of *Gibraltar*. By this Means, she laid a Foundation for getting herself reconciled with the Court of *Spain*, and by Means of that Reconcilement, and her Influence upon our Minister, she accomplished the other Point she had in View, which was to create a new Breach between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. For this Purpose, his Most Christian Majesty became now the Mediator between us and the Court of *Spain*, and by his Mediation the Treaty of *Seville* was concluded, which created a new, and almost irreconcilable Breach between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*.

As by this Treaty we were brought upon the Brink of being forced to enter into a War, in Conjunction with *France* and *Spain*, against the *Emperor*, the whole Nation began to take the Alarm, so that our Minister was obliged now to consult his own Safety; and this drove him precipitately into the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, in order to prevail upon the *Emperor* to admit the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into the strong Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*. The Treaty of *Seville* being, by this dangerous and rash Step, fully executed upon our Part, it was natural to expect a due Performance on the Part of *Spain*; but *France* having now by our Means recovered her Influence over the Court of *Spain*, and it being highly advantageous for the Trade of *France* to have Disputes always subsisting between us and *Spain*, *France* took Care that *Spain* should perform nothing of what had been promised on her Part by the Treaty of *Seville*, except, I think, the Restitution of the

the Ship *Prince Frederick*, and perhaps some of the other Ships that had been seized in the Ports of *Spain* at the Beginning of the Rupture. As to all our other Demands, they remained unadjusted: The Term for adjusting them by Commissioners expired; that Term was again and again renewed, and in the mean Time the *Spaniards* exercised the Right they had set up, of searching our Ships in the *American* Seas, and seizing such of them, as had any Goods on board, which they were pleased to call *contraband*. By this, daily Depredations were committed upon our Merchants in the *West-Indies*; daily Complaints were made to our Minister here; and thus Affairs stood, when *France*, in Conjunction with *Spain* and *Sardinia*, thought fit to attack the *Emperor* in the Year 1733, with an avowed Design to strip him of all his Dominions in *Italy*.

In the Beginning of the late Reign, Sir, the Power of the House of *Austria* was thought too weak, without the Addition of *Sicily* to their other *Italian* Dominions. A Minister had been impeached for leaving that House in such a weak Condition by the Treaty of *Utrecht*: We had procured him *Sicily* at the Expence of a War with *Spain*; because, without that Addition, the Balance of Power in *Europe*, it was thought, could not be secured. We had, therefore, three Reasons for joining with the *Emperor* in this new War; one founded upon the general Interest of *Europe*, because the Balance of Power would be overturned, should the *Emperor* be stripped of his *Italian* Dominions: A second founded upon our own Honour, because we had but two Years before guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction*, by which the *Emperor* was induced to admit of the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, which Troops were now employed in attacking

him: And a third founded upon our own particular Interest, because we could not otherwise expect to obtain Satisfaction or Security from *Spain*. These, Sir, were weighty Considerations; but the Plan of Politicks our Minister had laid down, prevailed over all these; and we continued idle, tho' not expenceless Spectators, till the Power of the House of *Austria* was diminished by the Loss of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and the Power of *France* increased by the Accession of *Lorain*.

During this War, the *Spaniards* favoured us with some Sort of Intermision of Depredations; but as soon as it was over, they renewed them with more Vigour than ever, and openly boasted of their being encouraged, and that they would be protected against the Effects of our Resentment, by *France*. As our Trade in general, as well as our particular Merchants, suffer'd greatly by these Depredations, it was highly the Interest of the Nation to insist peremptorily upon Satisfaction; but as this was contrary to the Interest of *France*, our Minister's Plan of Politicks prevailed over the Interest of his Country, and the Cries of his Countrymen. At last something must be done for his Safety here at home, and at a great Expence a Treaty was obtained, by which we neither got Satisfaction nor Security, but a Foundation for another ten Years trifling Negotiation. This, he found, the Nation was too wise to be amused with, and therefore he found himself under a Necessity of entering into a War against *Spain*: This War, Sir, the Court of *France* was obliged to connive at, rather than risk the Loss of a Minister, who had shewn himself so much their Slave; but how was this War to be carried on? According to the Interest of this Nation, it was certainly to be carried on in the most vigorous Manner, in order

to make it of a short Duration; and the most exact Care was to be taken of our Trade, because there only the Enemy could hurt us: But according to the Interest of *France*, the War was to be carried on in that Manner, which might make it the most lasting, and most expose our Trade to suffer by *Spanish* Privateers; because by this Means, our Trade might at last be ruined past all Redemption, and the Trade of *France* established so, as to be out of our Power to hurt it. I shall leave Gentlemen to judge, in which of these Methods the War has been hitherto carried on; for if it has been carried on in the latter Method, it is a Proof that our Minister has to this very Day pursued that Plan of Politicks, which, I have said, he laid down for his Conduct, at the very Beginning of his Administration.

I shall beg Leave, Sir, to mention two other Facts, as a farther Proof of this Plan. By the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk* were to be destroyed, and never to be repaired; and by a Treaty between his late Majesty and *France*, in the Year 1717, it was stipulated, That no Port, Haven or Fortification should be made or built at *Dunkirk* or *Mardyke*, or any other Place whatever along that Coast, within two Leagues of either of those two Places: Yet, Sir, as soon as this Minister began to have the chief Direction of our Affairs, not only the *French* began to use *Dunkirk* as a Port, but it was admitted as such, and as a *Flemish* Port too, notwithstanding its being in the Possession of *France*, even upon our Custom-house Books; and great Quantities of *French* Brandies were not only allowed to be imported from thence, but to be imported as *Flemish* Brandies, by which they avoided paying the high Duties imposed by Law upon *French* Brandies.

This Point being once gained, the *French* soon began to repair the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, so as to make the Harbour fit for receiving very large Ships; and now at last they have begun to repair the Fortifications and erect Batteries; so that in Case of a War with *France*, we may expect to have our Trade as much infested by *Dunkirk* Privateers, as ever it was in the last War.

This, Sir, is a farther Proof of our Minister's Complaisance for *France*; and in order to add another to this, I must observe, that both *France* and *Spain* have *Irish* Regiments in their Service; but tho' those Regiments are said to be in the Service of *France* or *Spain*, and receive their Pay from his Most Christian or his Most Catholick Majesty, yet they are properly in the Service of the Pretender, and acknowledge him for their King and chief Master. Therefore, if it is not Treason, it is something very like Treason, to assist or connive at the Recruiting of those Regiments in any of his Majesty's *British* Dominions: Yet such was our Minister's Complaisance for *France*, that at their Desire he had like to have incurred being guilty of this Crime. Nay, he would certainly have incurred it, and those Regiments would have been recruited openly in these Kingdoms, and with the Consent of our Administration, if some of those whom he has long look'd on as his Enemies, had not warned him of his Danger, which shews, that their Opposition to his Measures did not proceed from Malice and Resentment, as he has always insinuated, but from a sincere Regard to the Good of their Country; for surely a malicious Enemy would have been glad to have seen him commit such a criminal Error, and would, therefore, have taken Care not to prevent his being guilty of

of it, by fore-warning him of his Danger.

Having now, I hope, Sir, sufficiently demonstrated our Minister's Plan of Politicks with regard to foreign Affairs, I shall now endeavour to investigate and demonstrate his Plan of Politicks with regard to our domestick Affairs; and here, he seems to have laid it down as a Rule, To govern by the sole Means of Bribery and Corruption, and for this Purpose, to prevent our being able to lessen our Debts, or abolish any of our Taxes, by running the Nation every Year into extraordinary and unnecessary Charges, and by every other Method he could contrive. Upon his first Accession to the sole Direction of our publick Affairs, we were in a fair Way of being able in a short Time to pay off every Shilling of our publick Debt. The *South Sea* Scheme, by its being so wickedly conducted, had, indeed, ruined many private Men, but it was of singular Service, and might have been made of much greater Service to the Publick. Our Irredeemables were thereby made Redeemable: The Interest payable upon most of our publick Debts was to be reduced in a few Years from *five* to *four per Cent*; and the *South Sea* Company were obliged to pay off *seven Millions* of our Debts at once, by sinking so much of their Capital. By these Means, the Sinking Fund would have been so much increased, that if it had been religiously applied, our publick Debts might have been by this Time almost entirely discharged, and all our grievous Taxes abolished; but this would have very much lessened the Minister's Fund for Corruption, by demolishing many of those Posts and Places which he has at his Disposal; and therefore, according to his Plan, this Effect was by all Means to be prevented: The publick Charge was to be yearly in-

creased, in order to oblige us to apply the Sinking Fund to the current Service, or to run as much in Debt with one Hand, as we paid off with the other; and the Land Tax was to be represented as the most grievous Tax to the Nation, because it furnished him with the least Means for Corruption.

In Pursuance of these Maxims, the *seven Millions* due by the *South Sea* Company to the Publick was generously released, and the Expences of the Civil List were so much increased, that a new Debt of *500,000 l.* was contracted in the Year 1725, for paying the Debts of the Civil List, tho' the like Sum had been granted to his late Majesty, for the same Purpose; but *four* Years before; and upon his present Majesty's Accession, an Addition of *100,000 l.* a Year was made to the Civil List Revenue, besides the *115,000 l.* which was granted for making good a pretended Deficiency in that Revenue. But what furnished him with the best Pretence for increasing the publick Charge, was the famous Treaty of *Hanover* in the Year 1725. For preventing the Dangers with which *Europe* was threatned from the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria*, he did not think it sufficient to put this Nation to the Expence of augmenting our own Armies, and fitting out several Squadrons, but we must likewise take foreign Armies and foreign Princes into our Pay. Surely, Sir, if *Europe* had at that Time been in any Danger from the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria*, this Nation was the last, and had the least to fear, therefore we should have been the last that put ourselves to any Expence for guarding against that Danger; and yet we were not only the first, but the only Power in *Europe* that put itself to any Expence upon that Account. The *Dutch* that lay most exposed,

exposed, were so very little apprehensive, that they did not so much as accede to the Treaty of *Hanover* till near a Year after it was made; and the *French* who had most to fear from an Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, put themselves to A little or no Expence, nor gave us any Assistance when we were openly attack'd by *Spain*, on Account of what we did for preventing the Danger they lay exposed to. Whereas, we took 12,000 *Hessians* immediately into our Pay, granted Subsidies to the King of *Sweden*, the King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*; and what was most extraordinary, the Subsidy to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, was not granted till Half a Year after we had made up Matters with the *Emperor*, C and the *Hessian* Troops were continued in our Pay for several Years after.

I must therefore conclude, Sir, that all the extraordinary Expence we put ourselves to on Account of, or consequent to the Treaty of *Hanover*, could proceed from nothing but a Design to prevent our paying off any considerable Part of our Debts, or abolishing any of our Taxes; and the abolishing of the *Salt Duty* in the Year 1730, in order to diminish the Sinking Fund, and reviving it again in the Year 1732, in Ease of the Land Tax, is a farther Proof of this Design. But as it would be tedious to mention all the Arguments that might be brought in Proof of this Design, and as I have taken up too much of your Time already, I shall trouble you with no more of them, except the defeating of that Scheme which was offered to this very Parliament, for reducing the Interest payable upon all our Funds, or for putting it out of the Power of any future Minister to prevent the Nation's getting rid of its Debt by Degrees. We must all remember

by what Means, and by whom, that Scheme was defeated, and considering how practicable it was at that Time, which, I'm afraid, it will never be again, we must, I think, conclude, that the Minister who defeated it, could have no Design that our Debts should ever be paid, or our Taxes diminished.

Before I have done, Sir, with this Minister's Conduct, I must take Notice of one Thing which has been too often practised under all Ministers, and that is, the letting of publick Securities stand out, without any Fund for their Payment, till they run to a great Discount, when they are bought up by the Minister's Friends and Tools, perhaps in Trust for himself, and then a Fund is provided for paying them off at the full Price. This, I say, has been too often practised under all Ministers, when they could have any Opportunity for it, and this has not been left unpractised under this Minister. We all know what D a prodigious Sum the Debts due to the Army, and to foreign States, were at last brought to, which continued for several Years to circulate under the Name of Army Debentures, at an Interest of *four per Cent*, without any Fund for paying off the Principal. Most of those Debentures that were certified before the 21st of *March* 1719, were subscribed into the *South Sea Company*, but of them there remained unsubscribed near 400,000*l.* and after the 21st of *March* 1719, new Army Debentures were made out for Debts not before certified for near 550,000*l.* so that for some Time before the Year 1727, there was near a *Million* circulating in Army Debentures at *four per Cent*, without any certain Fund for paying the Principal; for as the Sinking Fund had been appropriated to the Payment of Debts contracted before the Year 1716, some People doubted if it could

could be applied to the Payment of these Debentures; and as there was always a great Number of them at Market, they came at last to be sold at above 30*l.* per Cent. Discount. But towards the latter End of the Year 1726, all that could be got at any Discount were bought up, and a certain Shop in this City was particularly noted for the purchasing of such Debentures. At last, upon the 7th of March 1726, a Resolution was come to in this House, to pay off all those Army Debentures, of which publick Notice was given, and by an Act of the same Session, the Sinking Fund was appropriated to the paying off of all these Debentures at their full Price, by which the last Purchasers got in a few Months above 30 per Cent. clear Profit.

Whether the Minister himself was personally concerned in this Jobb, I shall not pretend, Sir, to determine, but some of his Friends were known to be concerned in it; and whether he was concerned or no, is, I am sure, a Question that can never be determined as long as he has the sole Direction of all our publick Affairs. If he was personally concerned, or even if he gave private Notice to his Friends, it was certainly highly criminal; but as a Proof of such Facts cannot be expected whilst he is in Power, and as upon this Motion we have no Occasion for alledging such particular Crimes against him, much less for proving them, I shall not mention any more of them, tho' there are others, of much the same Nature, of which he has been suspected. I say, Sir, we have no Occasion for alledging or proving any such Crimes for supporting this Motion; and I must say, I am greatly surprized to hear, that some Gentlemen who, I believe, mean well, especially an honourable Gentleman who spoke some Time since, should

not be able to distinguish between a Motion for impeaching a Minister, and a Motion for removing him from the King's Councils. A Motion for an Impeachment must be supported by some particular Allegations of a criminal Nature, and by some Sort of Proof of those Allegations, before this House can agree to it; but a Motion for removing him is sufficiently founded, if from the whole Tenor of his Conduct it appears in general, that he must either have bad Designs, or must be a very weak Man. I have explained this Minister's Plan of Politicks with regard both to foreign and domestick Affairs: I have shewn, I think, such strong Presumptions of this being his Plan of Politicks, that we must conclude him either a very wicked, or a very weak Minister. Let us consider, Sir, what we have to do next Summer: We are to have a general Election for a new Parliament: We are to form Alliances, and concert Measures for preserving a Balance of Power in Europe, otherwise it will be irrecoverably lost. Can we expect a fair or a free Election, whilst we have a Minister at the Helm, who has laid it down as a Maxim, to govern by the sole Means of Bribery and Corruption? Can we expect, that any of the Powers of Europe will enter into any Alliance or Concert with us, whilst our Affairs are under the sole Direction of a Minister who has shewn himself such a Slave to France?

What a Danger then, Sir, must the Liberties of this Nation be exposed to; what a Danger must the Liberties of Europe be exposed to, by continuing this Minister but for one Year longer in Power? If the Hon. Gentleman would consider this, Sir, I am sure, he would not talk of returning him Good for Evil, or of doing this Minister and his Family that Justice which he denied.

denied to his. To vote for continuing a Man in a Post which he has shewn himself to be very unfit for, is doing him neither Good nor Justice: It is like putting a Sword in the Hands of a Madman or Ruffian; and to continue him in the sole Direction of our publick Affairs at such a critical Conjunction, is doing the greatest Evil, the greatest Injustice to our Country. Therefore, I hope, every Gentleman who, from this Minister's former Conduct, and from the present melancholy Situation of Affairs, both abroad and at home, thinks he has Reason to suspect his being either a very wicked, or a very weak Minister, will give his Affirmative to the present Question.

The next, and the last that spoke upon this Subject, was M. Tullius Cicero, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

*Mr. President,
S. I R,*

I CONFESS, I am at a Loss what to say, or how to justify myself on this Occasion. I had often heard, that some such Motion was designed against me; but I was always at a Loss to conjecture what the Hon. Gentlemen might have to say in Support of their Motion. My own Innocence convinced me, they had no real Crime, nor any wilful Neglect to lay to my Charge; and I therefore supposed, they had heard some malicious Stories, which they had given too much Credit to, and which I might easily shew the Falseness of, when I came to hear them explained. But now I have heard the whole Charge against me, I do not think there is any one Part of it, except one single Fact, which is not a Charge, not only against his Majesty and all those of his Council, but also against both Houses of Parliament, as well as against me.

If I were to answer for myself alone, I should think my Task very easy; but as I am to answer for King, Lords and Commons, it gives me great Pain, lest their Cause should suffer thro' any Incapacity in me: Yet, dangerous and painful as the Task is, I must undertake it, and shall be as concise, as the Nature of the Case will admit of.

I have, indeed, this Advantage, Sir, that all the Objections now made to the Conduct of the Administration, have been already answered to the Satisfaction of a Majority of both Houses of Parliament, and I believe, to the Satisfaction of a Majority of the better Sort of People in the Nation; therefore, I need only repeat a few of

those Answers that have been made already, which I shall do in the Order of Time in which the several Transactions happened, and consequently must begin with our refusing to accept of the sole Mediation offered us by Spain, upon the Breach between that Court and the Court of France, about the latter's breaking off the intended Marriage between their King and the Infanta of Spain. I hope it will not be said, we had any Reason to quarrel with France upon that Account; and therefore, if our accepting of that Mediation might have occasioned our quarrelling with France, we had no Business with it, unless we had something very beneficial for ourselves to expect by the Acceptance. A Reconciliation between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid was, 'tis true, what was to be wished for by all Europe, as well as by us, provided it had been brought about without any Design to disturb our Tranquillity, or the Tranquillity of Europe; but both Parties were then so high in their Demands, that we could hope for no Success; and if the Negotiation had ended without Effect, we might have expected the common

common Fate of Arbitrators, the disobliging of both Parties. Therefore, as it was our Interest to keep well with both, I must still think it was the most prudent Part we could act, to refuse the Mediation offered.

The next Step of our foreign Conduct found fault with, is the Treaty of *Hanover*. Sir, if I were to give the true History of that Treaty, which no Gentleman can desire I should, I am sure, I could fully justify my own Conduct; but as I do not desire to justify my own, without justifying at the same Time his late Majesty's Conduct, I must observe, that his late Majesty had such Information, as convinced not only him, but all those of his Council, both at home and abroad, that some dangerous Designs had been formed between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, at the Time of their concluding the Treaty at *Vienna* in May 1725. Designs, Sir, which were dangerous not only to the Liberties of this Nation, but to the Liberties of *Europe*. They were not only to wrest *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* from this Nation, and to force the Pretender upon us, but they were to have *Don Carlos* married to the *Emperor's* eldest Daughter, who would thereby have had a Probability of uniting in his Person, or in the Person of some of his Successors, the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* with the Imperial Dignity, and the *Austrian* Dominions. It was therefore highly reasonable, both in *France* and us, to take the Alarm at such Designs, and to think betimes of preventing their being carried into Execution. But with regard to us, it was more particularly our Business to take the Alarm, because we were to have been immediately attacked.

I shall grant, Sir, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for *Spain* and the *Emperor*, joined together, to have invaded, or

made themselves Masters of any of his Majesty's *British* Dominions; but will it be said, they might not have invaded his Majesty's Dominions in *Germany*, in order to force him to a Compliance with what they desired of him, as King of *Great Britain*? And if those Dominions had been invaded on Account of a Quarrel with this Nation, should not we have been obliged both in Honour and Interest to defend them? When we were thus threatened, it was therefore absolutely necessary for us to make an Alliance with *France*; and that we might not trust too much to their Assistance, it was likewise necessary to form Alliances with the Northern Powers, and with some of the Princes in *Germany*, which we never did, nor ever could do, without granting them immediate Subsidies. These Measures were therefore, I still think, not only prudent but necessary, and by these Measures we made it much more dangerous for the *Emperor* and *Spain* to attack us, than it would otherwise have been.

But still, Sir, tho' by these Alliances we put ourselves upon an equal Footing with our Enemies, in Case of an Attack, yet, in order to preserve the Tranquillity of *Europe*, as well as our own, there was something else to be done. We knew that War could not be begun or carried on without Money; we knew that the *Emperor* had no Money for that Purpose, without receiving large Remittances from *Spain*; and we knew that *Spain* could send him no such Remittances without receiving large Returns of Treasure from the *West-Indies*. The only Way therefore to render these two Powers incapable of disturbing the Tranquillity of *Europe* was, by sending a Squadron to the *West-Indies* to stop the Return of the *Spanish* Galleons; and this made it necessary at the same Time to send a Squadron to the *Mediterranean*,

ransan, for the Security of our valuable Possessions in that Part of the World. By these Measures the *Emperor* saw it was impossible for him to attack us in any Part of the World, because *Spain* could give him no Assistance, either in Money A or Troops; and as for the *Spaniards* Attack upon *Gibraltar*, it was so vain, we had no Occasion to call upon our Allies for Assistance: A small Squadron of our own prevented their attacking it by Sea, and from their Attack at Land we had B nothing to fear; they might have knock'd their Brains out against inaccessible Rocks, to this very Day, without bringing that Fortrefs into any Danger.

I do not pretend, Sir, to be a great Master of foreign Affairs: In C that Post in which I have the Honour to serve his Majesty, it is not my Business to meddle with them; and as one of his Majesty's Council I have but one Voice; but if I had been the sole Adviser of the Treaty of *Hanover*, and all the Measures D that were taken in Pursuance of it, from what I have said, I hope it will appear, that I do not deserve to be censured, either as a weak or a wicked Minister on that Account; and now with regard to the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, I E am really surpris'd to find that Measure objected to; it was so universally approved of, both within Doors and without, that till this very Day I think no Fault was ever found with it, unless it was that of its being too long delayed. If it was so F necessary for supporting the Balance of Power in *Europe*, as has been insisted on in this Debate, to preserve intire the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, surely it was not our Business to insist upon a Partition of them in Favour of any of the Prin- G ces of the *Empire*. But if we had, could we have expected, that the House of *Austria* would have agreed

to any such Partition, even for the gaining of our Guaranty? The King of *Prussia* had, it is true, a Claim upon some Lordships in *Silesia*, but that Claim was absolutely denied by the Court of *Vienna*, and was not at that Time so much as insisted on by the late King of *Prussia*: Nay, if he had liv'd till this Time, I believe, it would not now have been insisted on; for he acceded to that Guaranty without any Reservation of that Claim; therefore, I must look upon this as an Objection, which has since arisen from an Accident, that could not then be foreseen nor provided against.

I must therefore think, Sir, that our guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*, or our Manner of doing it, cannot now be objected to, nor any Person censured by Parliament for advising that Measure; but tho' it was prudent and right in us to enter into that Guaranty, we were not therefore obliged to enter into every Broil the House of *Austria* might afterwards lead themselves into; and therefore, we were not in Honour oblig'd to take any Share in the War which the *Emperor* brought upon himself in the Year 1733, nor were we in Interest obliged to take a Share in that War, as long as nei- E ther Side attempted to push their Conquests farther than was consistent with the Balance of Power in *Europe*, which was a Case that did not happen; for the Power of the House of *Austria* was not diminished by the Event of that War, be- F cause they got *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, in lieu of *Naples* and *Sicily*; nor was the Power of *France* much increased, because *Lorain* was a Province she had always taken and kept Possession of, during every War she has been lately engaged in. And as to our Disputes with *Spain*, they were not then come to such a Height, as to make it necessary for us to come to an open Rupture. We

We had then Reason to hope, that all Differences would be accommodated in an amicable Manner; and whilst we have any such Hopes, it can never be prudent for us to engage ourselves in War, especially with *Spain*, where we have always had a very beneficial Commerce.

These Hopes, 'tis true, Sir, at last proved abortive, but I never heard it was a Crime in any one to hope for the best. It was this Sort of Hope that was the Cause of the late Convention, and if *Spain* had performed her Part of that preliminary Treaty, I am sure, it would not have been wrong in us, to have hoped for a friendly Accommodation, and for that End to have waited for *nine or ten Months* longer, in which Time the Plenipotentiaries were by the Treaty to have adjusted all the Differences subsisting between the two Nations. But as *Spain* failed in performing what she had agreed to by this Preliminary, it put an End to all our Hopes, and then, and not till then, it became both prudent and necessary for us to begin Hostilities, which were accordingly begun as soon as possible after the elapsing of the Time in which *Spain* was to have paid the 95,000*l.* Thus the present War began, and as I am neither General nor Admiral, as I have nothing to do, either with our Navy or Army, I am sure, I am not to answer for the Prosecution of it. But were I to answer for every Thing, no Fault could, I think, be found with my Conduct in the Prosecution of the War. It has from the Beginning been carried on with as much Vigour, and as great Care taken of our Trade, as was consistent with our Safety at home, and with the Circumstances we were in at the Beginning of the War. If our Attacks upon the Enemy were too long delayed, or if they have not been so vigorous or so frequent

as they ought to have been, those only are to blame who have for many Years been haranguing against regular Troops and standing Armies; for without a sufficient Number of such, in Proportion to the Numbers kept up by our Neighbours, I am sure, we can neither defend ourselves, nor offend our Enemies.

I now come, Sir, to the Conduct of our domestick Affairs, and here a heavy Charge is laid, as if the Nation had been run into an extraordinary and unnecessary Expence, in order to prevent our being able to pay off our Debts, or abolish our Taxes. Sir, if there be any Ground for this Charge, it is a Charge against both Houses of Parliament, as well as against the Administration. No publick Expence has been incurred but what has been approved of and provided for by Parliament: The publick Treasure has been duly applied to the Uses to which it was appropriated by Parliament, and regular Accounts have been annually laid before Parliament of every Article of publick Expence. If by foreign Accidents, by the Disputes of foreign States amongst themselves, or by their Designs against us, the Nation has often been put to an extraordinary Expence, that Expence cannot be said to have been unnecessary, because, if by saving that Expence, we had exposed the Balance of Power to Danger, or ourselves to an Attack, it would have cost us, perhaps, a hundred Times the Sum, before we could recover from that Danger, or repel that Attack.

In all such Cases there will be a Variety of Opinions. I happened to be one of those who thought all those Expences necessary, and I had the good Luck to have the Majority of both Houses of Parliament on my Side of the Question; but this, it seems, proceeded from Bri-

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bery and Corruption. Sir, if any one Instance had been mentioned: If it had been shewn, that I ever offered a Reward to any Member of either House, or ever threatened to deprive any Member of his Office or Employment, in order to influence his voting in Parliament, there might have been some Ground for this Charge; but when it is so generally laid, I do not know what I can say to it, unless it be to deny it as generally and as positively as it has been asserted; and, thank God! till some Proof be offered, I have the Laws of the Land, as well as the Laws of Charity in my Favour. Some Members of both Houses have, 'tis true, been removed from their Employments under the Crown; but were they ever told, either by me, or any other of his Majesty's Servants, that it was for opposing the Measures of the Administration in Parliament? They were removed, because his Majesty did not think fit to continue them longer in his Service. His Majesty had a Right to do so, and I know no one that has a Right to ask him, What dost thou? If his Majesty had a Mind, that the Favours of the Crown should circulate, would not this of itself be a good Reason for removing any of his Servants? Would not this Reason be approved of by the whole Nation, except those who happen to be the present Possessors? I cannot therefore see, how this can be imputed to me as a Crime, or how any of the King's Ministers can be blamed for his doing what the Publick has no Concern in; for if the Publick be well and faithfully served, it has no Business to ask by whom.

Upon the Whole, Sir, it is a great Comfort to me to find, that my Enemies, after all their Boasting, can lay no particular Crime to my Door, nor charge me with any one Transaction, at home or abroad,

that has not had the Approbation of Parliament. And whatever People may think of the Wisdom of the Administration, for I am sure I shall not desire them to think well of mine, their Conduct will speak for itself. Our Tranquillity has been preserved both abroad and at home, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent Opposition to all their Measures: The true Interest of the Nation has been pursued: Our Trade has flourished: A Part of our Debt has been paid off; and the landed Interest has been very much eased, with respect to that most unequal and grievous Burden, the Land Tax. I say so, Sir, because upon Examination it will appear, that within these sixteen or seventeen Years, no less than 8,000,000 of our Debt has been actually discharged, by the due Application of the Sinking Fund, and at least 7,000,000 has been taken from that Fund, and applied to the Ease of the Land Tax; for if it had not been applied to the current Service, we must have supplied that Service by increasing the Land Tax; and as the Sinking Fund was originally designed for paying off our Debts and easing us of our Taxes, the applying it in Ease of the Land Tax, was certainly as proper and as necessary an Use as it could be applied to.

But, Sir, I had almost forgot one Fact, which seems to be a particular Crime charged against me, I mean that relating to Army Debentures. I am surprised, Sir, to hear any Thing relating to this Affair charged upon me: Whatever Blame there may be in this Affair, it ought to be placed to the Account of those that were in Power, when I was, as they call it, the Country Gentleman: It was by them this Affair was set on Foot and conducted, and I came in only to pay off those publick Securities, which their Management

management had brought to a great Discount, and consequently to redeem our publick Credit from that Reproach, which they had brought upon it. These Army Debentures being at a great Discount, was a strong Reason, and the Reason that prevailed with the Parliament, to apply the Sinking Fund first to the Paying off those Debentures, but they could not apply the Sinking Fund to that Purpose, till it began to produce something considerable, which was not till the Year 1727. That the Sinking Fund was then to receive a great Addition, was a Fact publickly known in the Year 1726; and if some People were quick-sighted enough to foresee, that the Parliament would probably make this Use of it, and cunning enough to make the most of their own Foresight, could I help it, or could they be blamed for doing so? But I defy my most inveterate Enemy to prove, that I had any Hand in bringing these Debentures to a Discount, or that I had any Share in the Profits made by buying them up.

To conclude, Sir, tho' I shall always be proud of the Honour of any Trust or Confidence from his Majesty, yet I shall always be ready to remove from his Councils and Presence, when he thinks fit I should do so; and therefore I should think myself very little concerned in the Event of the present Question, if it were not for the Incroachment that will thereby be made upon the Prerogatives of the Crown. But I must think, that an Address to his Majesty to remove one of his Servants, without so much as alledging any particular Crime against him, is one of the greatest Incroachments that was ever made upon the Prerogatives of the Crown; and therefore, for the Sake of my Master, without any Regard to my own, I hope all those that have a due Regard for our Constitution, and for the Rights

and Prerogatives of the Crown, without which our Constitution cannot be preserved, will be against this Motion.

[This JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

Common Sense, March 27. N° 267.

Observations on the Reign of Richard II. continued from p. 143.

FOR some Time after, Affairs were carried on as if with a View to the publick Good; but Richard, who seem'd as if he was made to serve as a Prey for Scoundrels, fell into bad Hands again: The Earl of *Wiltshire* got Possession of him, Body, Soul, and Understanding. The People, who were newly reconciled to the King, were, by the bad Measures this wicked Man put him upon, once more turn'd against him.

As Parliaments in these Days did not give away the publick Money without knowing why, or wherefore, the Court Minions could not divide the Treasure of the Nation betwixt themselves and their Slaves, as has been done in Times since then; they were forc'd to put the King upon extraordinary Methods of raising Money in order to enrich them; one of these was to demand Money of the City by way of Loan.

This Project did not answer; it was look'd upon no better than Extortion, it even occasion'd Tumults; these little Tumults or Riots were talk'd of by the Courtiers as a Resistance of Royal Authority, they were represented as a Kind of Rebellion: As a Punishment for which the City Charter was taken away, and the City was obliged to pay 10,000*l.* for having it renew'd again; so here was a fine Jobb!

By these Methods, the King lost all the Remains of Affection in the Hearts of the Citizens of London;

and he found afterwards how weak, how fatal it must be for a King of *England* to draw upon himself the Hatred of the City.

The Ministers perceived that all their Tricks could not procure them any real Security; as long as Parliaments kept their Integrity, the Sword must still hang over their Heads, let their Favour and Power at Court be never so great, and neither Money nor Armies were to be had without Parliament.

They also saw plainly by what had already happened, that the King might be upon good Terms with his People at any Time, only by giving up his evil Counsellors: This was so dangerous a Situation for them, that it is no Wonder if they could not rest quietly in their Beds, till they had contriv'd to mend it: They must therefore secure the King to themselves at all Hazards, and how could that be done but by involving him in their Ruin, (if they must be ruin'd.) There was no Possibility of bringing this about, but by a pack'd Parliament.

They saw by what Kind of Mistakes those that had tried this Experiment before had miscarried; they rectified this Mistake, by seeking out in Time for some necessitous corrupt Man in every County to be named for Sheriff; they found Means of thrusting some Persons of the same Stamp into some Cities and Boroughs to be returning Officers: These desperate Fellows, for some Reward that was offer'd them, undertook the Work, and effectually perform'd it; they got a Parliament of their own, a Parliament of Tools, a Parliament of Slaves, a Parliament of Placemen.

What an Alteration did this produce in all Affairs! One would have thought either that there had not been one indirect Thing done in all this Reign, or else that Par-

liaments had been instituted for nothing but to give a Sanction to the Rogueries of Ministers. Every scandalous, every destructive Measure was voted to be good; no Account was given of publick Money, no Account was ask'd.

It will be too long to enumerate all the arbitrary and wicked Proceedings of this *Rabble*, which was call'd a Parliament: Let it suffice, that they did every Thing to defend the Nation's Enemies, and to destroy its Friends.

I am sorry that the Speeches from the Throne which were made to this Parliament, as well as the Addresses in Answer to those Speeches, have not been transmitted to Posterity; they would certainly be a Curiosity even at this Distance of Time: Thus much we know, that the Language of the Ministers became the Language of Parliament, and we may be very sure, that the Addresses from the House, as well as the Speeches from the Throne, were the Work of the same Hands.

Let one Thing never be forgot, which all the Historians of that Reign have observ'd, That during the Sitting of this Parliament, (if I may call it a Parliament) and for some Time after, no Prince in the World was ever more arbitrary than *Richard II.* no Ministers in the World ever thought themselves more safe, than those rapacious Fellows that govern'd the Nation under him, or to speak more properly, that govern'd both him and the Nation.

One weak, ignorant, corrupt Man, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, at the Head of about 500 Persons, of which this scandalous Parliament was composed, with those in Employments, and such as by arbitrary Tricks had been thrust into the Magistracy of some of the Corporations, were call'd the Nation; while the Barons of *England*, the Body of the Gentry, and the great Mass of the common

common People were talk'd of and treated as a seditious and contemptible Faction, that had a Mind to raise a Rebellion:—Upon which the Historian makes the following judicious Observation:

"The Time will come, (says he) when every individual Person must be taken into the Account; and when that fatal Day shall come, a servile and mercenary Gang of Placemen, with their Dependants, will be found to be but small in Number, and infinitely smaller in Consideration, in Comparison of the whole People."

The Temper and Moderation of the People in this Reign hath something in it very remarkable: Notwithstanding all the Grievances they suffer'd during a long Course of Years, by the bad Measures of the Government, they never carried their Resentment higher than to the Ministers; the Prince was treated with Respect and Tendernefs, even when they had him in their Power, till after the Project of this pack'd Parliament had taken Effect; then indeed, and not till then, they thought it necessary to secure their Liberties by Methods not quite so tender.

Universal Spectator, April 3 and 10.

Of the NEW DUNCIAD.

A LETTER from a Gentleman in the Temple, to a Lady in the Country.

MADAM,

IN Obedience to your Commands, I transmit to you the following Sentiments on the *New Dunciad*, by which your Doubts concerning the Author will be removed; by the Quotations you will find, that only the noblest Genius and best Satirist of our Age could, with so lively a Spirit, lash the Follies and Vices of it. Mr. P*** has been in this Piece equal to himself, tho' some of

our Town Criticks will not allow it: The Censure they pass is, That the *Satire* is too allegorical, and the Characters he has drawn, are too conceal'd: That real Names should have been inserted instead of fictitious ones: In short, that he should have put on a Severity, which others would as heavily have censured. Some there are, who at this Crisis, when the *publick Dulness* of ten Years past is come under Inquiry, were in great Expectations of meeting with a *political Satire*; but the ingenious Author has given the World only a *Satire on Modern Life*, and the Conduct of it in general; from the *School* to the *University*, from the *University* to *Travel*, from *Travel* into the various Branches of *Dulness*; in which *false Wits* and *Men of false Taste*, *false Philosophers* and *Men of false Religion*, exercise their Faculties. The Poet has not particulariz'd many Follies of your Sex; however, he has not paid them any Compliment, as he has made the Sovereign of *Dulness* a Female, coming in all the Majesty of a Goddess, to destroy *Science* and *Learning*: But then he has given to your Sex some of the greatest Excellencies human Nature is capable of possessing. The Description of *Science, Wit, &c.* Captives at the Footstool of *Dulness*, is a Picture so full of Imagery, that every Figure as much presents itself to your View, as if drawn by the Pencil of *Le Brun*.

Beneath her footstool *Science* groans in
chairs,
And *Wit* dreads exile, penalties and pains;
There foam'd rebellious *Logick*, gag'd and
bound,
There strip'd, fair *Rhet'rick* languish'd on the
His blunted arms by *Sophistry* are born,
And shameless *Billinggate* her robes adorn.
Morality, by her false guardians drawn,
Cibicane in furs, and *Casuisry* in lawn,
Gasps, as they straiten at each end the cord,
And dies when *Dulness* gives her page the word.
Mad *Matheſis* alone was unconfin'd,
Too mad for mere material chains to bind,
Now

Now to pure space lifts her ecstatick stare,
 Now running round the circle finds it square:
 But held in ten-fold bonds the *Muses* lie,
 Watch'd both by *Envy's* and by *Flattery's* eye:
 Oft to her heart sad *Tragedy* address'd
 The dagger, wont to pierce the tyrant's breast.
 Oft her gay sister's life and spirit fled,
 But *History* and *Satire* held their head:
 Nor could'st thou, *Chesterfield*, a tear refuse,
 Thou wept'st, and with thee wept each gentle *Muse*.

The elegant Compliment paid to this distinguish'd Nobleman, is a just Tribute for the strenuous Opposition he made to the Playhouse Bill, which brought all theatrical Performances under the arbitrary Power of a Court Licencer; since which the Publick has been entertain'd with nothing new but Buffoon Anticks and *French* Capers. As just as this Compliment is to one Peer, the Satire in the following Description is as just on several others.

When lo! a harlot-form soft-gliding by,
 With mincing step, soft voice, and languid eye;
 Foreign her air, her robes discordant pride
 In patch-work flutt'ring, and her head aside,
 By singing peers upheld on either hand,
 She tripp'd and laugh'd, too pretty much to stand;
 Cast on the prostrate *Nine* a scornful look,
 Then thus in quaint *Recitativo* spoke:
O Cara! Cara! &c.

This Description the Author in his Notes calls a detach'd Piece; but it is excellently introduced, as a Satire on hiring *Italians* to sing detach'd Pieces of Composition, favourite Airs, and Sonatas, huddled into any Opera for Want of a Composer. Here the Author again pays a due Tribute to Merit, by shewing how injudiciously our Connoisseur-Subscribers to Operas suffered Mr. *Handel* to go to *Ireland*, when they give more for bad, incoherent Compositions in *England*. What can be nobler than these Lines from the Mouth of the *Phantom* call'd *Opera*, in her Address to *Dulness*!

—Soon, ah! soon rebellion will commence,
 If musick meanly borrows aid from sense.

Strong in new arms, lo! giant *Handel* stands
 Like bold *Briareus*, with a hundred hands;
 To stir, to rouse, to shake the soul, he comes; [drums!
 And *Jove's* own thunders follow *Mars's*
 Arrest him, emperors, or you sleep no more!—
 She heard, and drove him — to th' *Hibernian* shore.

A Though *Satire*, Madam, in its Name carries a common Idea of Censure, not to say Spleen or Ill-nature; yet *Horace*, the best Satirist, in most Mens Opinions, took an Opportunity, amidst his Ridicule of Folly and Vice, to introduce a Contrast, and set up Merit and Virtue in Opposition to them: The intervening Light of those were strong enough for the Shade of the other. Our *English Horace* pursues this Method: Affected Learning, Want of publick Spirit, &c. are deservedly expos'd; yet *Wyndham* and *Talbot*, *Freind*, *Alsop* and *Murray*, receive all the Oblations due to Men of refin'd Taste, Learning and Merit.

A large Part of this Poem exposes flattering *Dulness*, cultivating mistaken Talents, patronizing vile Scribblers, discouraging living Merit, setting up for Wits and Men of Taste in Arts they understand not.—As this is literary History, it is not so agreeable to the Generality of your Sex; but a shocking *Dulness*, which the Poet afterwards lashes, every Lady who has a Son at School, will be affected with. A haughty, pedantick, tyrannick Schoolmaster is a Character as odious and contemptible, as that of a humane, polite and learned one is amiable and worthy! Our dramatick Poets have never introduced this Species of Humour on the Stage; yet I have often thought it would make no bad Farce with proper Incidents. I would not lay the Scene in the School, for then it would become Tragedy; but the Character might be so represented, as to expose several enormous Absurdities which are attach'd to it.—As Mr. P——'s Poem is full of Machinery,

chinery, you see all the Characters enter upon the Stage, as living *Dramatis Personæ*, or descending or ascending upon it, like Deities and Ghosts at a Theatre.——Among Crowds of Dunces advancing to the Throne, the Schoolmaster is thus described:

While, lo! a spectre rose, whose index hand
Held forth the virtue of a dreadful wand;
His beaver'd brow a birchen garland bears,
Dropping with infant's blood, and mother's tears.
All flesh is humbled, youth's bold courage cools,
[schools.
Each, shudd'ring, owns the genius of the
The pale boy-senator yet tingling stands,
And holds his breeches close with both his hands.

In the Speech which this formidable Spectre makes, all the Errors of common Scholastick Education are pointed out; none are more strongly or more justly mark'd, than that universal Rule in our best-modelled Schools and Royal Foundations, of making all Boys make Verses, as if we were to have a Nation of Rhymers, instead of Men of good Understanding. The Schoolmaster very humorously says of his Pupils,

Whate'er the talents, or howe'er design'd,
We hang one jingling padlock on the mind;
A poet the first day he dips his quill;
And what the last?——A very poet still.
Pity! the charm works only in our wall;
Lost! lost! too soon, in yonder house or hall.
There truant *Wyndham* ev'ry Muse gave o'er;
There *Talbot* sunk, and was a wit no more!
How sweet an *Ovid*, *Murray* was our boast;
How many *Martials* were in *Pult'ney* lost!

From this the Author introduces Remarks on verbal Criticism, and has very accurately depicted the Hat, Form, Look, and Speech of the Master of *Tr—— Coll——, Cambridge*. A great Part of this Part of the Satire is lost to most Readers, by not knowing the secret History of the venerable *Aristarchus*, and his humble 'Squire *Walkerus*: Nor hath the profound *Scriblerus*, in his Notes,

sufficiently illustrated *Scipio Maffei's* Remark, *De Compositionibus Academicis*.

From the University he changes the Scene to a modern fine Gentleman with his travelling Tutor, just arrived from his Tour; and the Doctor makes his *Exit* with,

But wherefore waste I words! I see advance,
Whore, pupil and lac'd governor from *France*.

The learned Commentator on this Author has, contrary to modern Commentators, a Note worth transcribing;

Where, pupil and lac'd governor.

“Some Criticks have objected to the Order here, being of Opinion, that the Governor should have the Precedence before the Whore, if not before the Pupil: But were he so placed, it might be thought to insinuate, that the Governor led the Pupil to the Whore; and were the Pupil placed first, he might be supposed to lead the Governor to her. But our impartial Poet, as he is drawing their Pictures, represents them in the Order in which they are generally seen; namely, the Pupil between the Whore and the Governor; but placeth the Whore first, as she usually governs both the other.”

These Characteristicks are very severe on our *Petit Maîtres*, and their polite Governors, who make the Tour of *Europe* only to glean every Vice and Folly they meet with; but I am sorry to say the Poet has confin'd himself to Truth, and there have very lately been known such Tutors and such Pupils. The Speech of the Governor to *Dulness*, in Recommendation of his Charge, is a just Censure on modern Education; I shall quote only that Part, which describes his foreign Tour.

Intrepid then o'er seas and lands he flew,
Europe he saw, and *Europe* saw him too.
There

There all thy gifts and graces we display,
 Thou, only thou, directing all our way,
 To where the *Seine*, obsequious as the rons,
 Pours at great *Bourbon's* feet her silken sons;
 Or *Tyber*, now no longer *Roman*, rolls,
 Vain of *Italian* arts, *Italian* souls;
 To isles of fragrance, lily-silver'd vales,
 Diffusing languor in the panting gales;
 To lands of singing, or of dancing slaves,
 Love-whispering woods, and lute-resounding waves.

* But chief her shrine where naked *Venus*
 And *Cupids* ride the lion of the deeps.
 Led by my hand, he saunter'd *Europe* round,
 And gather'd every vice on Christian ground;
 Saw every court, heard every king declare
 His royal sense of op'tas and the fair.
 The stews and palace equally explor'd,
 Intrigu'd with glory, and with spirit whor'd.

This is, to the Shame of our young Gentry be it spoke, too just a Description of their beginning and finishing their Travels; we have, however, some Exceptions, and some young Noblemen who have done an Honour to their Country abroad; and by acquiring a Knowledge of Men, of Commerce, of the Interests and Tempers of foreign Courts, with the different Policies of different Nations, will be of Service to their Country at home. Lord *Halifax* in the House of Peers, and Lord *Quarendon* in the Commons, are illustrious Examples for the young *British* Gentry: These have greatly served their Country in the Senate, at a Time of Life when most others employ theirs in Pleasure and Libertinism.

After the Poet's well-tim'd Censure on *modern Education*, he introduces a short but excellent Satire on a Set of People, some of which you meet with almost in every Family; I mean the *Indolents*, to whom every Duty of Life, or necessary Business of it, is a Fatigue; on these, *Dulness* sheds her Influence. You will be pleas'd at their Description, and, I believe, more particularly so, because if you change the Name of *Paridel* to *Arabel*, it is an exact Cha-

* Venice, whose Arms are a flying Lion.

rafter of your Cousin.—The Goddess, says the Poet,

—saw a lazy, lolling sort,
 Unknown at church, at senate, or at court,
 Of ever-listless loit'ers, that attend
 No cause, no trust, no duty, and no friend;
 Thee too, my *Paridel*, she mark'd thee there,
 Stretch'd on the rack of a too-easy chair,
 And heard thy everlasting yawn confess
 The pains and penalties of idleness.
 She pitied, but her pity only shed
 Benigner influence on thy nodding head.

From this Species of *Dulness* the Author shifts the Scene, and introduces a Character which, though it has been drawn by other Authors, is here represented with new Humour. As this Satire was intended to expose Triflers in Arts and Sciences, and those who, thro' Affectation of Knowledge, were the Patrons of them, the Author could not suffer our modern *Antiquaries* in Gems and Medals to pass uncensured. It is incredible, what Inventions and Arts are practised to make *Antiques*; which some Persons of Quality purchase at a high Rate, only because they think they are *antique*, and they possess a little Bit of Copper or Silver, the like of which very few in the World have besides themselves. As particularly mark'd as the Character of *Annius* may seem, there are many of them to be seen at *Cox's* Auctions.

—*Annius*, crafty seer, with ebon wand,
 And well-assembled em'rald on his hand,
 False as his gems, and canker'd as his coins,
 Came, cramm'd with capons, from where
Polio dines;

Soft as the wily fox is seen to creep,
 Where basks on sunny banks the simple sheep,
 Walks round and round, now prying here,
 now there;

So he, but pious whisper'd first this pray'r:
 Grant, gracious goddess! grant me still to cheat,

O! may thy cloud still cover the deceit!
 Thy choicer mist on this assembly shed;
 But pour them thickest on the noblest heads:
 So shall each youth, assisted by our eyes,
 See other *Cæsars*, other *Homers* rise;
 Thro' twilight ages hunt th' *Atbenian* fowl,
 Which *Chalcis* gods and mortals call an owl.
 Now see an *Atys*, now a *Cicrops* clear;
 Nay, *Mahomet*, with pigeon at his ear;

Be rich in antient brass, tho' not in gold,
And keep his *Lares*, tho' his house be sold;
To headless *Phæbe*, his fair bride postpone;
Honour a Syrian prince before his own;
Lord of an *Orbo*, if I vouch it true,
Blest in one *Niger*, till he knows of two.

These Impositions of our *Virtuosi*,
and the Credulity and Folly of those
who become their Dupes, are more
strongly expos'd by the Author's ha-
ving made *Annius* himself confess
the first, and ridicule the last.

As the Scenery of this Poem
changes, and new Characters ap-
pear, the ingenious Author has fol-
low'd the dramatick Rule, of shew-
ing the Humour of each Character
the stronger, by shewing a contrast
Character to it. *Annius* has an Op-
ponent Connoisseur in *Mummius*, a
Virtuoso in *Syrian Coins* and *Egyp-
tian Mummies*; but the two Cha-
racters which will please you most,
are what you are acquainted with;
a *Virtuoso Florist*, and *Virtuoso But-
terfly-Fancier*; they are describ'd
among

A tribe, with weeds and shells fantastick
crown'd.

They have a great Cause to try,
and appeal to the Goddesses:

The first thus open'd: Hear thy suppliant's
call,

—Great queen, and mother of us all!
Fair, from its humble bed, I rear'd this
flow'r; [show'r.
Suckled, and chear'd with air, and sun, and
Soft on the paper ruff its leaves I spread,
Bright with the gilded button tip'd its head;
Then thron'd in glass, and nam'd it *Caroline*,
Each maid cry'd, charming! and each youth,
divine!

Did nature's pencil ever blend such rays,
Such vary'd light in one promiscuous blaze?
Now prostrate, dead, behold that *Caroline*!
No maid cries, charming! and no youth, di-
vine! [lust
And, lo! the wretch whose vile, whose insect
Laid this gay daughter of the spring in dust;
O punish him! or to the *Elysian* shades
Dismiss my soul! where no *Carnation* fades!

The pathetick Exclamation of the
Suppliant is rais'd with a pleasing
Air of Solemnity, which is still
heighten'd by

He ceas'd, and wept.

His Adversary's plain Behaviour
and narrative Speech are finely con-
trasted to the Passions being affect-
ed, and the Luxuriancy of Descrip-
tion in the foregoing Quotation.

—With innocence of mein

A Th' accus'd stood forth, and thus address'd
the queen: [wing

Of all th' enamell'd race, whose silv'ry
Waves to the tepid *Zephyrs* of the spring,
Or swims along the fluid atmosphere,
One brighter shin'd; this child of heat and air
I saw, and started from its vernal bow'r
The rising game, and chas'd from flow'r to
flow'r;

B It fled, I follow'd; now in hope, now pain;
It stop'd, I stop'd; it mov'd, I mov'd again;
At last it fix'd—('twas on what plant it
pleas'd) [seiz'd:

And where it fix'd, the beauteous bird I
Rose or carnation was below my care,
I meddle, goddess, only in my sphere;
I tell the naked fact, without disguise,
C And to excuse it need but shew my prize;
Whose spoils this paper offers to your eye,
Fair, e'en in death, this peerless *Butterfly*.

After this Contest the Goddesses
applauds them both; and, in a
Speech, she recommends it to the
Investigators of Nature to amuse
themselves only in Trifles.—From
hence the Author introduces an ad-
mirable Satire on Triflers in Philo-
sophy and Religion,

And vindicates the ways of God to man.

Essay on Man:

E Here, Madam, the modern Free-
thinkers, that is, wild and enthusi-
astick Scepticks, are not only cen-
sur'd, but confuted; and with the
Satirist and Poet you find blended
the Philosopher and Divine.

The last Scene of the Poem (to
F keep to my dramatick Parallel)
which is to produce the Catastro-
phe, ends with great Propriety. The
Stage is full of all the Goddesses's
Votaries, whom she receives with
Pleasure; to testify which, an old
Wizard presents them with the *Cup*
G of *Self-Love*,

Which whose tastes, forgets his former
friends,
Sire, ancestor, himself: One casts his eyes
Up to a star, and like *Endymion*, dies;

A feather shooting from another's head,
Extracts his brain, and principle is fled;
Lost is his God, his country, every thing,
And nothing left but homage to a king.
The vulgar herd turn off to roll with hogs,
To run with horses, or to hunt with dogs;
But sad example! never to escape
Their infamy, still keep the human shape.

After having describ'd the endowing them with Impudence, Stupidity, Self-conceit, venal Interest, Degeneracy, Luxury, affected Wit, and affected Wisdom,

Then blessing all, Go, children of my care,
To practice now, from theory repair;
All my commands are easy, short and full,
My sons, be proud, be selfish, and be dull:
Guard my prerogative, assert my throne:
This nod confirms each privilege your own.

Which is for *Dukes, Earls* and *Lords* to personate *Running-Footmen, Jockies, Stage-Coachmen* and *Fidlers*, &c. &c.

The Conclusion of this Poem the Author has made like that of our modern dramattick Pieces—without any Conclusion at all.—*Deest Finis* may seem an odd Expression, but the Annotator thus explains it: "It is impossible to lament sufficiently the Loss of the rest of this Poem: It is to be hop'd, however, that the Poet compleated it, and that it will not be lost to Posterity, if we may trust a Hint given in one of his Satires,

Publish the present age, but where the text is vice too high, reserve it for the next."

I cannot, Madam, conclude without one more dramattick Comparison: As you have seen some Pieces on the Stage end in a universal Groan, or Chorus of Yawns, our Author concludes his Poem with an universal Yawn, and both are the Effects of Dulness. But in this the Effects are so entertaining, that I cannot end my Epistle better than in transcribing the Description of G

She yawn'd—all nature nods:
What mortal can resist the yawn of gods?
Churches and chapels instantly it reach'd,
(St. James's first, for leaden G-lb-t preach'd)

Then catch'd the schools, the hall scarce kept awake,

The convocation gap'd, but could not speak;
Lost was the nation's sense, nor could be found,
While the long solemn unison went round;
Wide and more wide it spread o'er all the realm;

A Ev'n *Palinurus* nodded at the helm;
The vapour mild o'er each committee crept,
Unfinish'd treaties in each office slept;
And chiefs armies doz'd out the campaign,
And navies yawn'd for orders on the main.

Craftsman, April 3. N^o 322.

B REMARKS on a Pamphlet, said to be written by a BY-STANDER.

Mr. D'Anvers,

FROM the Author's calling himself a *By-Stander*, I suppose he would desire us to believe he is intirely a disengaged and an impartial Writer; but he soon convinces us of the contrary. The many Invektives against one Half of the Nation, the many irritating Passages, which can only tend to disunite us, plainly shew how interested the Author is, and may sufficiently prove, that the Performance, if not written, is at least dictated, by a *Person*, who has just Cause to apprehend the Indignation of an injured People, and has now no Shelter to protect himself from Justice, but what he may hope to raise, by spreading Jealousies, and somenting Divisions in those Places, and amongst those Persons, whom the People look upon as their Defenders and Protectors; like a Thief, who, when he has committed a Robbery, sets fire to the House, that in the Hurry and Confusion he may more easily escape.

E All the Zeal and Party Madness which appeared just after the Restoration, he would saddle the present Set of *Tories* with, whose Behaviour, as dutiful Subjects, and Moderation to their Neighbours, for many Years past, have given no Foundation for such Suspensions; and the Corruptions of the Pension Parliament, in *Charles II's* Time, he is pleased to ascribe to the same Persons, as a Party Measure, with just as much Propriety, as if I should ascribe to the present Set of *Whigs* all the Corruption of this noble Author and his Adherents, because they vouchsafed to call themselves *Whigs*; which if I did, I should deserve to be branded for a most infamous Incendiary and Liar.

The Corruptions of those Times, and of some succeeding, are sufficient to shew, that there are corrupt Knaves of all Parties; which I hope will be an Admonition to every honest Man, to let all Party Distinctions drop, and to unite together upon one common Principle, to destroy Corruption, and to preserve Liberty.

It is true, the Tories have been more generally, and more conjointly, Opposers of the Schemes of this *noble Person*, than the Whigs, at whose Head he artfully set himself; by which Device he gained many a well-meaning Man into his Aid, which he could never have done but by such Delusions; but the best amongst them have at last found him out, and I hope will use him accordingly.

Whenever he could prevail upon a Tory to forsake the Opposition, he then became a most excellent Whig: That has been his Touchstone: Oppose me, and you are a Tory and Jacobite, (for those Names he has been always pleased to join;) but receive the Wages of Sin, and be my Friend, and you are as good a Whig as ever I desire to employ.

Whoever will impartially compare the Actions of this *noble Person*, and the Passages I have hinted at in the *By-Stander*, must soon be convinced, that he had no other View in fomenting Party Distinctions, but as it was useful to him in his Schemes, of increasing the national Expence, and keeping up a standing Army in Time of Peace.

Another Argument which the *noble Author* makes use of for keeping up a standing Army in Time of Peace, is, that the Princes on the Continent, instead of spending their Money upon Tilts and Tournaments, now employ their Expences in rendering themselves terrible to their Neighbours; and fortified Towns and Citadels are the sovereign Game they hunt after. And soon after he tells us, that the regular Forces of France, in Time of Peace, amount to about 200,000 Men, which, if there be Occasion, are readily augmented to 300,000, or a much greater Number, out of their established Militia; that the Troops of the King of Sardinia at present amount to about 50,000 Men, and the late King of Prussia, in the midst of profound Peace, kept up 100,000 disciplined Soldiers; and then most sagely remarks, that their military Expences are not barely for Pomp and Ornament.

The *By-Stander* takes no Notice of the Force of the late Emperor, which, in the Time of the late King of Prussia, was not greatly inferior to the Power of France, and might, by wise Management, have been preserved as a Balance to France; but the House of Austria has been too often forgot by this *noble Author*, and his Argument now plainly shews the Reason why; for if the House of Austria had been preserved from Destruction, and we had not run into the Treaty of Hanover, and such unnatural Treaties and Negotiations, but steadily persevered in the ancient Alliance, there could have been no Pretence for keeping up such an Army, which we have always had on Foot. We therefore have now no Reason to wonder why the House of Austria was neglected, and the House of Bourbon protected, the Whole is explained by the *By-Stander*.

er; and these are the Politicks, which have cost so many Millions, and at last may end in the Destruction of our Liberties.

P. 27, he says, *Our publick Credit is now interwoven with the present happy Establishment; the Support of our Government, the Property of Millions, and the Continuance of our Trade and Manufactures depend upon this Credit; and it is certain, that any considerable Reduction of our disciplined Troops would immediately affect it.*

Does the Author by *publick Credit* mean that *fictitious Wealth*, called *Paper Credit*; that imaginary Wealth, which has made us believe ourselves worth Millions, without adding one Farthing of real Riches to the Nation; that Wealth, which has run us into the most prodigal Luxury, without any Foundation to support it; that Wealth, which has made us wantonly use double or treble the Quantity of our Commodities and Manufactures at home, which ought to have been sent to foreign Markets to have brought home real Wealth; that Wealth, which employs so many Labourers in making Gardens and building stately Edifices, which are of no Service to the Publick, in Prejudice to the laborious Farmer, by whose Care we subsist? And lastly, is this the Wealth, which if you send ten Millions of it to any foreign Market, for an Ounce of Pepper, a Drachm of Silk, or a Pint of Wine; I say, ten Millions of it can't be traffick'd in a foreign Market, for the lowest Commodities in Quantity and Quality, but there will be a Balance against us? Is this the Wealth, which the *noble Author* says supports our Government? And must this Wealth, which is only imaginary, be the Cause of keeping up standing Armies and Taxes, which, we are sure, is destructive of Trade, which is confess'd to be dangerous to Liberty? And must imaginary Wealth, burdensome Taxes, and dangerous standing Armies be kept up to preserve a Government founded upon the Principles of Liberty? Yet this is the Compliment our *noble Author* pays to the Government.

These Arguments are further Proofs, that the *noble Person* I have hinted at, during the Course of his Address, has had nothing so much in View, as to make it necessary for the People of England to submit to a standing Army; but he has never opened himself so freely as to the Largeness of the Army before; which now he only ventures upon by Implication. First, he endeavours to shew how easily we may be invaded, by giving several Instances of intended Invasions, which have proved unsuccessful; then he is pleased to make a speculative Invasion of 30,000 Men from one Part of France, and as many from another Part of France. At the same Time, Ireland and Scotland to be invaded

invaded from Spain and Sweden; let us suppose 15,000 Men each, this will make an Army of 90,000 Men; our Fleet is to be of no Service, for that is to be employed in looking upon the French Fleet at Brest, and another powerful French Army ready to embark. All the People of England, except the Soldiers, are intirely useless against Men that are brought up with exquisite Skill in the Art of slaughtering their Fellow-Creatures.

The Question is, how considerable an Army will be necessary to be kept on Foot to defend us against such an Invasion, so as to man our Sea-Coast against the Enemy, and not to leave the inland Country unwatched against the Malecontents at home. I should think the least that can be thought of in England, Ireland and Scotland will be 200,000 Men. So this Argument I think proves how careless a Man—this noble Person was, that rather than let us know our Danger, he suffered the British Dominions to be exposed to the Invasion of France for so many Years together, with not above 30 or 40,000 Men to defend England, Ireland and Scotland. This seems to be a merry Argument; but really I think it is a natural one. Beside this, I presume it will prove what I have already observed, that his Intention of raising the Power of France, was to make a standing Army necessary, and as the Power of France increased, he would have made it an Argument to increase the Number of our Land Forces.

Another Argument he makes use of, to shew that a standing Army is not to be feared, is, that the Power of the Crown is not so considerable now as it was formerly; to prove the ancient Power of the Prerogative, he cites the Exactions of William II. and he might with the same Propriety have told us, Cromwell, by his Prerogative, cantoned out the Provinces of England, and put them under the absolute Authority of his Major-Generals. If he shall say, that Cromwell was an Usurper, what other Right had William Rufus, during the Life of his elder Brother Robert, but the Length and Sharpness of his Sword? To have proved the ancient Prerogative at this Time, he should have shewn what it was under the Saxon Laws, not what it was tyrannically set up by a Conqueror and his Son.

This zealous Whig calls the lawless Exaction of Ship-Money in Charles I's Time, an Act of the Prerogative; whereas, every Friend to Liberty disclaimed and opposed it, and that Friend to Monarchy, Lord Clarendon, pronounced it to be an illegal Seizure of the People's Property, and founded upon such Positions, as would give the Crown an equal Claim to the Remainder of their Estates. In short, to prove that the just Power of the Prerogative was greater before the Revolu-

tion, than it was agreed to be, when the Revolution was settled, he should have proved the Bill of Rights to have been filled with Lies, since that Bill was only declaratory of what were the Rights of the People.

A Common Sense of this Day has a Letter from a Correspondent, containing a Scheme for settling the Affairs of Europe: We look upon it to be wholly chimerical, but we shall just tell our Readers what it is, viz. To secure Europe against France, by a grand Alliance of England, Spain, the Italian Dominions in the Hands of Spanish Princes, Sardinia, Prussia, the Dutch, and Hanover, which he proposes to be surrendered to the Duke upon his Marriage with a Prussian Princess; and the Prince of Orange to have the Austrian Netherlands.

Common Sense, April 10. N^o 269.

Upon the Subject of the foregoing Craftsman.

C THE chief Scope and Drift of the By-Stander is, first, to support a Notion of ever keeping up a standing Army in this Island; for he says, p. 11. that the Maintenance of a considerable regular Land Force is at all Times requisite to the Safety and Happiness of this Country. In the next Place, and indeed the Bulk of the Pamphlet seems to be intended sily to furnish Reasons both for a large Civil List, and for a Misapplication of the publick Money: I don't know whether the present Civil List will suffice for his Scheme; for he speaks of an *Æquilibrium* to be observed in regard to the Income of the Crown, and of the People; and calculates that at the Revolution, the Proportion of the Crown Revenue to that of the People was as 1 to 41; so that he seems to want near Half our Estates at once to establish an *Æquilibrium*: Nay, he carries this Matter so far as to affirm, p. 110, that the Weight of the Crown would have declined very considerably, if K. James had continued satisfied with the Revenue then settled; which Revenue he represents to exceed two Millions per Annum; and he adds, that he could scarcely have kept his Power fixed at the same Height, without seizing upon an additional Share of the Property of the Kingdom. Bless me! what does he mean? Would there not be the same Reason to do so at this Time—if there were any Reason in what he says? I should not be surprized after this, if some future Blunderer did improve upon his Arguments, and say that an *Æquilibrium* would either keep Things stock still, which is a Stagnation; or else would be wavering, which is a dangerous Struggle; and that therefore there ought to be an *Overpoise* in Behalf of the

the Crown; or the whole landed Property vested in the King, as it is in *Turky* in the Grand Signior.

Another Part of this Writer's D.ift, is to divide us, by reviving the unhappy foolish Party Names of *Whig* and *Tory*. Besides, I think it is plain, that the Pamphlet tends to alarm, provoke, and invite the *French* to draw down their Forces to the Provinces on the Coast next to us; for it openly intimates, p. 19, the Fitness of our putting ourselves in a Condition to make a powerful Descent on *Normandy* and *Britany*; at the same Time it points out the Ways whereby *France* might attack us, p. 16, 17.

The Author argues, p. 6, 7, from *France* having in Time of Peace 200,000 Men of regular Forces, and besides 100,000 established Militia, that it is absolutely necessary for every neighbouring State that would preserve its Existence, to support a considerable Body of disciplin'd Troops; and that the utmost Vigilance of our Fleet cannot be sure to hinder an Invasion.

I ask, — Are not the *Swissers* Neighbours to *France*? And tho' they are not environ'd by the Sea, and are divided among themselves into small States, yet they have not one Regiment or Troop of what we call regular Forces; but all are Militia, and were never less afraid of *France* than in this present Age. How unhappily for his own Scheme does this Writer mention that *France* has her Militia trained; when it lays him open to this Reply, Then why should not we have our Militia trained too? For this is the natural, proper, safe, and well-pleasing Manner of Defence for a free People: When our Arms are in the Hands of those we can rely on, our Freeholders and Tenants, their Sons and Servants, we are secure; but with what Security can we rely wholly on the common Soldiery, seduced to list in the Service for a Guinea, and a Crown to be spent; whom we find, tho' the Service be nothing but Idleness and Lounging, often to desert at the Peril of their Lives; the only Action of Danger they are concern'd in; how, I say, shall we rely on them, when double Pay, Premium, or Discharge, or whatever they will ask, shall be offer'd on the other Side?

This Author is aware of two Instances which entirely destroy his own Position: The first is, that the reducing the Land Forces to 7000 in *K. William's* Reign, was attended neither with Danger or Fears; tho' the *French* (as he says) had then 300,000 veteran Soldiers under our Noses; and Plots and Assassinations against our glorious Monarch were perpetually concerted. (His seeming to imagine, that a Force of about 20,000 Men kept up here, would have hindered *France*, with its mighty Army close-adjoining, from seizing the *Spanish* Monarchy for

his Grandson, is too ridiculous to be answered.) The other Instance was in the late War in *Q. Anne's* Reign in 1708, when we had but 7000 Men here, knew of the intended Invasion, yet augmented not our Troops, nor ordered that any should be brought from *Flanders* till Advice should come that the *French* were landed. This he represents as a mighty Danger, and says, p. 9, that had the News of their Retreat been delayed a few Hours longer, the Bank of Eng. and would have been absolutely ruined. Now, what Grounds can he have to say this? If the Bank had stop't Payment, it would not have been ruined, nor would any of its Creditors have lost a Penny of their Money; for the Bank, it is well known, employs the Money deposited with them in Loans on Parliamentary Securities, such as are in a short Time to be paid off, as the Land and Malt-Tax Tallies: There is but little employed in discounting Merchants Bills, which yet are usually payable in two Months; so that if there be a Demand at any Time on the Bank for a greater Part of the Cash deposited with them than they have at that Time in their Hands, they must necessarily stop Payment; but the Money is well secured, and they will pay again in a few Months without a Penny Loss to any one. It is not the same Case as when a private Banker stops, who often, thro' Hopes of extraordinary Gain, puts out great Part of the deposite Money on hazardous Securities; and when he stops, it is because the Money is lost and gone.

But here, perhaps, it may be asked, How comes it that we were secure in those Times with 7000 Men, and cannot be so now? I answer, it was because the People were then content with the Securities they had for the Constitution, and were very zealous for the Preservation of it; I mean they had then in Force the Act for Triennial Elections, the darling Law and invaluable Privilege of the People, the best Event of the Revolution, the Law which *Q. Anne* ever consider'd as sacred; and which is now the earnest pressing Desire of the People to have restored. The People then looked wholly to a Parliament for a speedy Redress of every Grievance, and did usually soon find one; and so will again, when this their most reasonable Request is granted.

Now let us come to his chief Point, which is to shew that *K. Charles* and *K. James* had each a monstrous immense Civil List, the Grants of which he calls the pecuniary Exploits of the Tories: Yet I must here remind him of his other Paragraph, where he reckons they were not enough for the due Equilibrium. In order to make out the Matter, he would have the Whole of the Money granted for the publick Service, Part of which (in the

the Days of long Parliaments) might be misapplied by the Ministers, to pass for Part of the Civil List, and call it by the tender Phrase of *Money obtained for the Civil List*. I hope no such Case has happen'd since, and that the Drift of this Pamphlet is not to pallete it with Pretence of Precedent, in Case a strict Scrutiny should happen, and such a Thing appear.

In p. 48. he maintains, that before the Revolution the whole ordinary Revenue of the State was in the Power of the Crown, and called the Revenue of the Crown, without any Distinction of what was allotted for the Civil List: Which Point concerning the Want of Distinction, upon which his whole Scheme depends, I do positively deny, and will shew the contrary from the Words of the Acts of Parliament.

At the Restoration, viz. 12 Car. II. the Parliament granted to the King, his Heirs and Successors, the Post-Office and the Wine-Licences, as an Addition to the Crown Estate. Besides these, they granted to him, his Heirs and Successors, that Part of the Excise called the *hereditary Excise*: This was in the Nature of a Purchase, being in lieu of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Besides this, they granted another-like Excise, usually called the *temporary Excise*; but this latter was granted to him, the Act says, as a *singular Piece of Gratitude*, and so was only during his Reign, and might or might not be continued to the Successor. And these, viz. the Post-Office, the Wine-Licences, the *hereditary* and *temporary Excise*, together with those called the *small Branches of the Crown Revenue*, were all the settled, standing Civil List Funds that K. Charles II. had by the Grants made him at the Restoration.

It is true, there were some occasional Gifts both then and after, during this Reign, (for the Excise Duties in those Times produced nothing like what they do now) and what was so given for the King's Use appears by the Wording of the Acts; and what was given for the national Service has its intended Use specified in the Act, which is a plain *Appropriation*. So that (if we except two Items of the smaller Branches, viz. the *first Fruits* and the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. on Barbadoes and the *Leeward Islands*, which have since been otherwise disposed of) the settled, standing Civil List Funds were then exactly the same as at present; with this Difference however, that the Produce of them upon the Whole is now vastly more than it was then; and besides, there is 120,000*l.* per Annum added to them from out of the Aggregate Fund, to be paid by weekly Payments. And moreover the Guards and Garisons were then to be paid out of the Civil List Funds; for the Parliament made no Provision for them;

And according to this Author, the King then kept a Regiment of Foot and a Regiment of Horse for his Guard.

The Customs, or what is called the *Subsidy on Tonnage and Poundage*, was granted to the King for Life; but it was plainly, by the Words of the Act, *appropriated for the national Service*, viz. the *Guarding and Defending the Seas*, which included the whole Sea Service.

In about two Years after the Restoration, viz. 13 and 14 Car. II. there was granted to the King, his Heirs and Successors, an additional Revenue, called the *Heath-Money*, which at first produced 100,000*l.* per Annum, and by the Time of the Revolution was improved to 245,000*l.* per Annum, which was a sad Grievance on the People, helped to bring about that Event, and at the Revolution was abolished. But in the Year after the *Heath-Money* was granted, the Post-Office and Wine-Licences were separated from the Crown, and settled on the Duke of York and his Heirs Male.

K. James's Civil List Funds were the same as his Brother's, only with the Addition of what had been settled on him out of it, during his Brother's Reign. And the Grants mentioned in this Writer, of Duties on Wine and Vinegar, and on Tobacco and Sugar, which he calls *Crown Revenue*, are all appropriated by the Words of the Act, viz. *for Repairs of the Navy and Ordnance, for providing Stores for Navy and Ordnance, for Payment of Debts due to his late Majesty's Servants, and other important Occasions*. The other Duty he mentions, which was a Grant for five Years of the *Imposition on French Linnen*, &c. which by his Account produced 93,710*l.* per Ann. was granted by the Words of the Act, *for extraordinary Occasions, and suppressing the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion*.

Now I will conclude with drawing up a Proposition, in Imitation of the Author's Manner.

Prop. If upon an Increase of the Civil List, the Demands thereon do increase in equal Proportion, and the Disaffection of the People be increased on that Score; the Crown is no Ways enriched thereby, will have nothing more to bestow, either in Grants, or in Expences that are purely voluntary: It may be nominal Plenty and real Want. But the true and best Method of increasing the Civil List is, by such good Laws as the *Pension Bill* and the *Place Bill*.

I am, S I R, &c.

Craftsman, April 10. N^o 823.

One who signs himself Anti-Skreen, gives some Extracts from the Case of the Merchants, as summ'd up by Mr. Glover, of which we gave

have some Account in our last, p. 144, and so shall only set down the Introduction to this Letter, as follows.

THAT a Man, who has been at the Head of all Offices, should be called to Account only for his Misbehaviour in one, appears to be a very extraordinary Strain of Lenity, and what very ill agrees with the universal Demand of Justice, that is still echoed from every Corner of the Kingdom.

For my Part, I see no Reason, why his Influence over the Secretaries of all Kinds, Lords of Trade, Navy, Victualling, Admiralty, Negotiators abroad, and Commissioners at home, is not as liable to Suspicion, and consequently as worthy of Inspection, as his Conduct in his own immediate Department.

Occasionally he has stood forth, and acknowledged himself to be the *first Mover* of the whole Machine; has taken upon him to answer for the Success of Treaties, the dismissing Persons from his Majesty's Service, for their conscientious Behaviour in St. Stephen's Chapel, the Conduct of the War, and almost every other Branch of Government.

But, not to insist upon his own Confession, we know he has done all Things, and therefore, nothing is more reasonable, than that he should be answerable for all Things.

That this was the general Expectation, I believe nobody can deny; and why such extraordinary Exemptions should be made, as I believe nobody can, so I believe nobody will attempt to account.

I am led into these Reflexions by having just read over the *Case of the Merchants*, as most admirably summ'd up at the Bar of the House of Commons, by Mr. Glouer; from whence I cannot help concluding, that if he had no other Guilt to answer for, than what he is chargeable with from the Cloud of Witnesses, which appeared on that Occasion, he ought to have been impeached without Delay.

Common Sense, April 17. N^o 270.

Conclusion of the Observations on the Reign of Richard II. (See p. 183.)

IT is a fundamental Maxim of the Constitution, That the King can do no Wrong; of Consequence his Counsellors and Ministers must be answerable for all the Errors of his Government.—This Maxim is founded in Justice and Wisdom, for the King executes nothing himself: If without taking the Advice of his Council, he should order any of his Ministers to do an unjust or an illegal Act, they ought to refuse it.

If (for Example) he should command the Chancellor for the Time being to set the

Great Seal to some illegal Grant or Patent, or the Secretary of State to send Orders to an Admiral or General in Time of War, to let the Enemies gain some Advantages, they must answer these Things with their Heads, because it was their Duty to set the King right; if after they have set the King right, he should obstinately persist in having the Thing done, they ought to resign their Employments, and this is the worst that could happen to them: But if they are so passionately fond of Place, that they had rather be the Instruments of any Mischief to their Country, than run the Hazard of being out of Favour at Court, and when they come to be called to an Account, plead the King's Orders,—they are to be hanged,—so the Constitution is preserved, and there is no great Harm done;—it is in this Sense only, that the King can do no Wrong.

In one of our late Discourses we took notice of the Tenderneſs, which the People shewed to the Person of Richard II. This Tenderneſs was at length worn out; as soon as they saw the Project of a pack'd Parliament put in Execution, other Sentiments succeeded.

As this Project was an Experiment that had never been tried before, it is no Wonder if our Ministers (who were none of the wisest) had not taken the Precautions necessary to make it operate to all the Purposes for which it was intended, that is to say, to disable the Constitution for ever, or, to use the Language of our late Corruptor, *that all Ministers might from that Time do what they pleased*. The Precaution they omitted was, that they did not raise and establish an Army within the Kingdom, which this Parliament would certainly have given them, and would have tax'd the People for the Support of it: They were extremely weak to imagine, that the Nation would submit to arbitrary Laws made by a pack'd Parliament, were they not kept in Awe by a military Force.

Notwithstanding this, the Ministers thought themselves safe; the Heads of the Opposition were many of them dead, and many exiled, and the Constitution appearing disabled, they saw nothing to check them. It is common for Men that want Judgment, never to see Danger till it is ready to fall upon them; it was the Case of our Corruptor the other Day, to which (next to his natural Disposition) we may attribute his continual Insolence.

Thus being free from Fear and Controul, all Affairs went worse and worse, and the Ministers saw the Nation insulted and despised by all the World without the least Concern. The Scots ravaged the Borders, our Possessions in France were reduced almost to nothing, and the French Corsairs plunder'd our Merchants upon the Seas. In the Midst

of these Ruins and Disgraces, every Project was put in Execution that might tend to encrease the King's Revenue, and, as if the sole Business of Ministers had been to rob, all the Tricks to draw Money out of the Pockets of the People, were talk'd of and represented by their Tools as Instances of their Wisdom and Abilities.

The Nation, sensible of its deplorable Condition, thought it Time to take care of itself; but how was this to be done? If they sought Redress from the Constitution, they must seek in vain, it had not Strength enough left to relieve them: What would it avail to demand Trials or Impeachments against the Ministers, or to apply for Justice in any Shape to such a Parliament as this? The certain Consequence would be to see Votes and Resolutions pass'd to give a Sanction to all their Thefts and Robberies, and to censure their Accusers; and what would be more grievous, to be obliged to bear the insolent Triumphs of that Gang of inferior Thieves, their Supporters and Dependants.

As no Redress could be had from the Constitution, the Nation turn'd its Eyes upon *Henry of Lancaster*, a Prince of high Reputation for his Valour and Wisdom, who had been wrongfully banish'd, and whose Estate had been confiscated by *Richard* (I should have said by the Ministers, for, poor weak Man! he did nothing) *Henry* was made acquainted with the State of the Nation, he was invited to come to its Relief, upon which Encouragements he made an Attempt with so small a Force as fourscore Men; great Numbers immediately flock'd in to him, no Succour was wanting which the People were able to give him; unfortunate *Richard* was left alone; what is not at all to be wonder'd at, the first Persons who deserted him were his scandalous Ministers; in this forlorn Condition he yielded to his Fate without any Resistance, and resign'd himself to be disposed of as his Rival should think fit.

A Parliament being call'd, an Instrument of Resignation was drawn up and presented to the King to sign, in which he owned himself incapable of governing; which, however it might have the Air of Compulsion, contain'd a Truth of which every Action of his Life was a Proof.

After this, Articles of Accusation were drawn up against him by Parliament: In one of which it was set forth, that without Discretion or Judgment he had put the Government of himself, and of his Kingdom, into the Hands of weak and wicked Men, which had occasion'd infinite Dishonour, as well as heavy Taxes to be laid upon the Nation.

That in negotiating with foreign States, so many Falshoods and Evasions had been practis'd, that it had brought such an Imputation of Breach of Faith upon the Eng-

lish Name, that foreign Powers would not enter into Engagements with us.

That he had procur'd a pack'd and corrupt Parliament, in order to subvert the Liberties of the People of England.

This last was looked upon to be Cause sufficient for justifying the Nation for deposing a Prince, whose Title was undisputed, the Son of a Father who had been the Glory and the Darling of the English Nation: I mean the Black Prince.

Unfortunate *Richard*, who had been made to believe, that his Safety depended upon protecting his Ministers, and whose foolish Obstinacy was extolled as Steadiness, became sensible, when it was too late, that his Ruin was owing to that Cause.

Thus ended the inglorious Reign of a poor weak Man, who first lost his Crown, then his Life, by persisting to save two or three Scoundrels from the Gallows.

Craftsman, April 17. N^o 824.

C. *Extracts from a Pamphlet, intitled, A proper Answer to the BY-STANDER. (P. 192.)*

AS to the Statutes you give us a List of, p. 66, 67, if you had talk'd properly or justly, and without a Design to revive a Party Spirit amongst us, you would have told us, that all these Acts were pass'd by a pensionary Parliament.—Ministers, whether Tory or Whig, will always be for laying Restraints upon Liberty, and for increasing the Power of the Crown. If I were inclined, I could make sufficient Reprisals upon Whig Ministers since the Revolution; but as I have no Occasion, I shall go no farther back than your own Administration, during which the following glorious Laws have been pass'd.

1st. 1721, *An Act to enable the South-Sea Company to ingraft Part of their Capital Stock and Fund into the Bank of England, &c.* By which the Bank was freed from their famous Bank Contract with the South-Sea Company, which had drawn in many Hundreds to ruin themselves, by depending upon the Performance of that Contract.

2^d.—*An Act for the King's most gracious general and free Pardon.* By which all ministerial Offences; especially those relating to the South-Sea Scheme, were pardon'd, and almost all other Crimes excepted.

3^d.—*An Act for making several Provisions for restoring publick Credit, &c.* By which the Annuitants were obliged to take South-Sea Stock at the Rate of 400*l*. for every 133*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. in Stock, in Lieu of their Annuities, and the S. S. Company released of 5 Millions out of 7, due by them to the Publick, &c.

4th. 1722. *An Act to enable his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons, &c.* By which the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for above a Year.

5th.

5th.—*An Act for reviving and adding two Millions to the Capital Stock of the S. S. Company, &c.* By which that Company was released from the Payment of the remaining two Millions due to the Publick.

6th, 7th, and 8th.—*Three Acts for inflicting Pain and Penalties on John Plunket, George Kelly, and Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester.*

9th.—*An Act for the more effectual punishing wicked and evil-disposed Persons going arm'd in Disguise, &c.* Commonly call'd the *Black-Act*.

10th.—*An Act to oblige all Persons being Papists in Scotland, and all Persons in Great Britain neglecting to take the Oaths, to register their Names and real Estates.* By which the whole English Nation were set a swearing, and great Sums raised upon the People, without any Benefit to the Publick; but for what Reason this Act was not made so general in Scotland as in England, I shall leave for you to explain.

11th. 1723, *An Act for repealing certain Duties payable upon Coffee, &c. and for granting Inland Duties in lieu thereof, &c.* By which the Laws of Excise, and the Power of the Commissioners, were vastly extended.

12th.—*An Act for explaining the Laws concerning the Trial and Admission of the ordinary Lords of Session.* By which the King is empower'd to appoint, if he pleases, a Person for one of the Chief Judges of Scotland, who is no Way qualified for the same, by the Laws of that Kingdom.

13th. 1724, *An Act for regulating Elections within the City of London, &c.* By which a Negative was given to the Court of Aldermen, and thereby a Power to the Minister, by Means of Bribery and Corruption, to prevent the Citizens of London from asserting their own or their Country's Rights, in any Sort of corporate Capacity.

14th. 1725, *An Act for granting an Aid to his Majesty, by laying a Duty upon all Vicars in London and Westminster, &c.* Commonly called the *Pot Act*.

15th. 1727, *An Act for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, &c.* By which 100,000 *l.* per Ann. was added to the Civil List Revenue, with this remarkable Proviso, that if the Funds appropriated to that Revenue should produce less than 800,000 *l.* per Ann. the People should make it good; but if they should produce more, the People should have no Right to the Overplus, but the Whole should belong to the Crown, and be at the arbitrary Disposal of the Prime Minister; which is a very great ministerial Advantage, but cannot be understood by those, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the Methods of issuing Money from the Exchequer.

16th. 1731, *An Act for reviving the Du-*

ties on Salt, for the Term therein mentioned. By which these Duties, which formerly belong'd to the Sinking Fund, have been ever since applied to the Current Service.

17th. 1735, *An Act for laying a Duty upon the Retailers of spirituous Liquors, &c.* By which a new Addition was made to the Civil List, the Powers of the Commissioners of Excise, and the Vermin called *Informers*, vastly increased, and all the Keepers of Publick-houses made Slaves to the Minister.

18th.—*An Act for indemnifying Persons, who have been guilty of Offences against the Laws made for securing the Revenues of Customs and Excise, and for enforcing those Laws for the future.* Under this specious Title is concealed, a Law of the most dangerous Nature to the Liberties of the Subject, by which the best Nobleman in the Kingdom may become liable to be transported as a Felon, if his Servant should, without his Knowledge, have above six Pounds of Tea, or above the Value of 30 Pounds worth of foreign Lace in his Pocket.

19th. 1736, *An Act to explain and amend so much of an Act in Q. Anne's Reign, relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, &c. as relates to common Players of Interludes.* By which the Stage was laid under a Licence, as a Prelude to licensing the Press; which, it is generally thought, you would have done, if the present House of Commons had been as much under your Direction, as the last seemed to be.

These, Sir, are some of the important Laws that have been passed during your Administration, and to these I should add your Bill for subjecting Tobacco to an Excise, and your Bill for registering Seamen, both which would have been passed into Laws, if you had succeeded in all your Attempts against the Liberties of your Country.—If to this

List of Laws and Bills, I should add the many unconstitutional Votes you have got pass'd, and the many excellent Bills and reasonable Motions you have got rejected, it would make such a *black List*, as no Tory Administration could parallel; yet you have always affect'd to have your Administration called a *Whig Administration*; but it would be the Height of Injustice to charge those called *Whigs* in general, with what you have done.

Every one knows, that many of them have appeared with a great and laudable Zeal against you; and that the Majority, by which you have so long triumphed over the Constitution and Laws of your Country, has all along consisted of those, who were influenced by the Honours, Places and Pensions, which a too-indulgent Master gave you the sole Disposal of, or of those, who were influenced by a Party Spirit, which for this very End you have always most industriously endeavour'd to keep alive.

I hope, Sir, your Attempt to revive Party Divisions at this Time, that you may have an Opportunity to escape in the Scuffle, will prove fruitless and vain. Both *Tories* and *Whigs*, or at least those who formerly went under such Denominations, have joined in *pulling you down*. If you deserve it, I hope they will join in *hanging you up*; and I hope the World will excuse me for treating you with so much Freedom.

Besides those we have inserted in our *Magazines* for *February* and *March* last, a great many other Representations in the same Strain were sent to their respective Members in Parliament, from other Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the united Kingdoms; as, from the Counties of *Hereford*, *Denbigh*, *Montgomery*, *Flint*, *Carmarthen*, and *Devon*; from the City of *Litchfield*, and the Boroughs of *Yewkesbury*, *Newcastle-under-Lyme*, *Hunton*, *Monmouth*, *Bishop's-Castle*, *Preston*, *Minehead*, &c. in *England*: From the Shires of *Edinburgh*, *Aberdeen*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Lanark*, *Cromartie*, and *Dumfries*; and the Towns of *Aberdeen*, *Stirling*, *Dumfries*, *Annan*, &c. in *Scotland*. They all of them strongly recommend a strict Inquiry into past Measures, and a proper Punishment to be inflicted on the Guilty; the Restoring Triennial Parliaments, and the passing other good Bills, particularly the Pension and Place Bills: And some of them, besides, remonstrate against Party Distinctions, standing Armies, and the Abuses of Returning Officers, desiring that these Grievances may be redressed; and recommend a Care for the Woollen Manufacture, and a vigorous Prosecution of the War. We shall only set down the following at Length, which is one of the most remarkable.

To Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. Knt.
of the Shire for the County of Denbigh.

S I R,

WE should think we were wanting to ourselves, we should think we were wanting to our Country, if we did not take this Opportunity of returning you our grateful Acknowledgments for your constant Attendance to your Duty in Parliament, as well as for the Share you have taken in the glorious Struggle that hath been made since the Beginning of this Session.

We join with the Voice of the Nation in rejoicing for the Success that hath attended your Endeavours; but we have a more than common Reason to rejoice, because of the most arbitrary Methods that have been put in Practice, to deprive us of the very Birth-right of *Britons*, that of chusing our own Representatives. It is to the Success of your Endeavours, that we owe our being represented in Parliament at all, as the grand

Corruptor distinguished you by exerting all the Force of Corruption against you; it is because he knew your Attachment to the true Interest of your Country. He despair'd of being able to prevail upon you to betray us, by whom you was trusted, therefore was you honour'd with his more particular Malice. We take it, Sir, that you suffered for our Sakes, which must recommend you to us more than ever.

Altho' we have no Reason to doubt your Endeavours to promote all Laws, that may tend to the Security of our Liberties, yet you will give us Leave to recommend some Things to you, that call for immediate Redress.

We hope, Sir, you will do your utmost to procure an Act for limiting the Number of Placemen to sit in the House of Commons;—the whole World is sensible, that the Want of such an Act in our late Parliaments, brought us to the Brink of Ruin.

We likewise request of you, that you will endeavour, that a Law may be obtained to prevent the villainous Practices of Returning Officers, and that some Punishment may be provided equal to the Heinousness of the Crime. We have Reason to know, Sir, that the Freedom of Parliaments may be lost without such a Law.

We must desire you likewise to oppose standing Armies in Time of Peace, a useless Burden, altogether unknown to our Ancestors, that of late are become so numerous, that like the Locusts of *Egypt*, they cover the Face of the Land, living in Sloth and Idleness, and devouring the Labours of the Industrious, that have cost the Nation Millions, and in twenty Years have not done one Day's Service for their Country.

We also intreat you to do what you can towards healing that Wound made in the Constitution by the Septennial Act; that we may be restored again at least to Triennial Parliaments, that we and our Representatives may not have Time to become Strangers to each other.

Above all, Sir, we must press you to push for a fair and impartial Inquiry into the shameful Conduct with respect to Affairs abroad, as well as the corrupt Management at home, Things which cannot be thought of without Indignation. You have been instrumental in bringing one of the Tools of Corruption to Shame; we hope you will be instrumental in punishing him, who set such Tools to work. It is fit that you and we should understand one another. We have a Right to speak plainly to you, and we must tell you, Sir, that if the Man that ruined our Trade, disgraced our Arms, plundered our Treasure, negotiated away our Interests, impoverished the Land,—in a Word, the Author of all the Calamities and Disgraces

of twenty Years, should (while the whole Nation is calling out for Justice against him) triumph in Impunity, we shall be apt to think our Constitution is lost.

We are, S I R,

Your humble Servants, &c.

It may be proper here to take Notice, that the Pension Bill and the Place Bill both passed the House of Commons, and were rejected by the Lords; and that it was carried against repealing the Septennial Act in the H. of C—ns, by a Majority of 20.

The SPEECH of his Excellency the Earl of STAIR, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his Britannick Majesty, at a publick Audience he had of the States General on the 10th Instant.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE King, my Master, closely united, as he is, with your Republick, by the strongest Ties of mutual Interest, whereby a good Correspondence between his Kingdoms and your States is rendered absolutely necessary for the reciprocal Support of their common Liberty and Independance, is moreover desirous, in this delicate and dangerous Conjunction, to give you the most convincing Proofs of his perfect Friendship and entire Confidence; and it is for this Reason that his Majesty sends me hither in Quality of his Ambassador Extraordinary, with full Powers to concert, and take jointly with your High Mightinesses, the proper Measures for preserving the Liberty of *Europe*, and re-establishing a just Balance of Power; as likewise for maintaining the Independance of his own Kingdoms, and of the Dominions of your High Mightinesses, by preserving the House of *Austria*, in Conformity to our common Engagements, and to our mutual Interests; and his Majesty flatters himself, that these Measures will be taken without Loss of Time.

The whole World is informed of the generous Efforts, which your Ancestors made for the Recovery of their Liberty, and the Defence of their Religion. The whole World is Witness to the great Actions performed by your Republick for the Support of the Liberty of *Europe*: Those glorious Actions do not allow the King to entertain one Moment's Doubt of the Magnanimity and of the Wisdom of your Republick. You will not, certainly, submit now to the Servitude against which you fought so gloriously. In an entire Persuasion of this Truth, the King addresses himself to your High Mightinesses, assuring you of his entire Friendship, and Confidence, and at the same Time, of a powerful Assistance for supporting such Measures as shall be jointly taken.

The King extremely commends your High Mightinesses late wise Resolution of augmenting your Land Forces, and putting Part of your Fleet to Sea. Your High Mightinesses in a strict Union with the King of *Great Britain*, will thereby become Masters of the Sea, which is a very great Advantage; and on the other hand, you will be in a Condition to cover that Part of your Frontier, which you find at present to be the most exposed; and in Case your High Mightinesses judge it necessary, to procure an additional Defence on that Side, by a new Alliance, the King, as Elector, offers you, with the greatest Cordiality, his Concurrence therein; and to the End that the Barrier may not be weakened by your Troops being employed in garisoning that exposed Frontier, the King has given his Orders, in Consequence of the Requisition of the Queen of *Hungary*, for the transporting a considerable Body of his *British* Troops into the Low Countries.

When your High Mightinesses shall have thus put all your Frontiers into a Condition of not apprehending any Surprise, you will be able to protect your Allies in the Manner you shall think most convenient; and thereby other Princes, who might be willing to act in Conjunction with the maritime Powers for the Maintenance of the Liberty of *Europe*, would be able to do it with greater Freedom, and without Fear, which can never be the Case, without a perfect and declared Union of those two Powers. and without their taking Measures in Concert for their own reciprocal Security, and for the Preservation of their Allies, and of the publick Liberty.

All that we have lately seen must clearly convince us, that the most solemn Treaties are too weak a Support for the Liberties of *Europe*, and that more real Securities are necessary.

The King finds himself obliged to remonstrate to your High Mightinesses, that the solemn Faith of Treaties requires that the Queen of *Hungary* should be assisted. The King, on his Part, has given most convincing Proofs of his good Faith, and of his Friendship towards the said Queen. The considerable Sums that were given her the last Year, and the still more considerable ones which are granted for this present Year, demonstrate his Majesty's Exactness in the Performance of his Engagements, and his Readiness to go even beyond them; and his Majesty relies upon the good Faith of your High Mightinesses, which is so well known, that you will not delay fulfilling, in the same Manner, your Engagements towards the said Queen; and his Majesty desires your High Mightinesses to consider, that if that Princess shall be once oppress'd, it will be

more difficult to support the general Independence of *Europe*.

The unanimous Consent of his Majesty's People, is such a Security to your High Mightinesses for his good and generous Intentions, as cannot but be very agreeable to you; and the King flatters himself, that the Subjects of your High Mightinesses are in the like Sentiments for the Preservation of their own Independence, and of the publick Liberty.

The Uprightness of my Heart, the Sincerity of my Intentions towards my Country, towards the King my Master, and towards your Republick, will, I hope, make up for many Defects. I will explain myself more fully, as soon as it shall please your High Mightinesses to name Commissaries to confer with me.

M. de Haren, who presided that Day in the Assembly, returned the following Answer to his Excellency.

Mr. Ambassador,

THE Friendship and Union which have so long subsisted between the Crown of Great Britain and this Republick, have been always looked upon by their High Mightinesses as too advantageous for them not to think themselves obliged to employ their utmost Endeavours towards cultivating of them, and rendering them perpetual.

It is then not at all surprising, if they

have now the greatest Pleasure in being informed of the Desire of his Britannick Majesty, not only to confirm the good Understanding between the maritime Powers, but to establish it upon more solid and stable Foundations than ever.

The Neighbourhood, the solemn Treaties, and the Conformity of Sentiments, as well with respect to Religion, as with respect to Liberty, all contribute to make us sensible of the inestimable Value of a strict Union between the two Nations. Their High Mightinesses will always give convincing Proofs of it, as also of their profound Veneration, and of their perfect Esteem for his Majesty's sacred Person, and for all his Royal Family, for the Preservation and Prosperity whereof, they make the most ardent and sincere Vows; and they cannot, Sir, but signify to you, how much they are charmed with his Majesty's having chosen you to come hither on his Part, to give them such Assurances as will tend to the Increase of their mutual Friendship. Nobody, Sir, was more proper than yourself for this Employment; you, whose good Intention towards this Republick is known, and whose Merit is so universally applauded and admired.

Their High Mightinesses will give all their Attention to what you have just proposed to them, by Order of the King your Master, and they will be ready to give you Audience, and to name Commissaries to confer with you as often as you shall desire it.

POETICAL ESSAYS, 1742.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R,

THO' the World has been so many Years deprived of Sir Samuel Garth, that celebrated Poet and Physician, yet Persons of true Taste are still so enamoured with all the Beauties of his Pen, as to render the Publication of the following beautiful Elegy on his Death, no disagreeable Entertainment to the World. It has never been printed, as Mr. Penny, a very agreeable and ingenious Gentleman, once resident at Barbadoes, informs me: There, it seems, it was written, at his Request, by one Mr. Thompson, who was then in some Employment on that Island, and who will not, if alive, be disgraced by thus surrendering it to the Publick, who for a long Time have had a Right to it. The Reader need not be told, that *Congreve*, *Addison*, &c. were then alive, whom the Author mentions in his Elegy; and consequently it was written just after Sir Samuel's Death.

I am, &c.

E. K.

An ELEGY on the Death of Sir Samuel Garth, Knt. M.D.

HOW just must be the tribute of our eyes,
When virtue from its earthly mansion flies!

Sure, every Muse will strain a mournful verse,
For every poet should attend thy hearse.
But yet—the thought so sad—so full of woe!
It shocks my soul—forbids the tears to flow:
Fain would my Muse the heavy task decline,
Yet—I must pay the tribute of a line.

Hark!—or is't only fancy strikes my ear?
By my sad soul, 'tis music that I hear!
'Tis heavenly music! 'tis immortal song!
See Milton, Cowley, Dryden grace the throng,
Crowding to catch the accents of thy
sweeter tongue.

Disolv'd in joy with ecstasy they come,
To waft thy soul to its celestial home.

Speak, greater bards, ye that have rais'd
your voice [choice,
To heaven's high King, and gloried in your
Why are you silent now? forget your grief,
And sing, for that, if ought, must bring relief.

Oh!

Oh! cou'd ye once reach his melodious strain, [gain.]

Heaven might relent—and send him back a—
But oh! it cannot—must not be—'tis too late—
Oppress'd with grief, we may complain of fate,
Blame providential laws as too severe,
That so much worth should be no more the care [fare.]

Of heaven—than other common mortals
But sure the powers supreme, divinely good,
Shou'd ne'er be injur'd by a thought so rude.
Let envious pens thy glories strive to blast,
And vile reflexions on thy name to cast,
Like thy own great *Nassau's*—unsporting it shall last.

Thy wondrous labours shall for ever shine,
Thy mighty genius sparkles in each line:
In vain does malice whisper—'tisn't thine.

Blackmore in poetry may boast success!
But wants thy wit, thy art, and gay address,
To cheer a lady's spirits in distress.

In physic *M—d* may claim an equal share, [thy air,
But where's thy muse, thy humour, and
Which more than all his drugs—revives
the drooping fair?

One may prescribe, and in that art excel,
Another—justly talk of writing well;
This boasts his learning—that displays his wit,

And each to his own province may be fit:
But—to single virtues *Garth* was ne'er confin'd,

He grasp'd all nature, fathom'd human kind,
Knew every art, and every science too,
Knew how to live, and practis'd what he knew.

Say, *Congreve*, *Addison*, ye knew him well,

To ages yet to come ye best can tell,
How lov'd he liv'd, and how deplor'd he fell.

Cease then your grief—begin without delay,
His worth in your transcendent lines display:

Apollo needs must on the labour smile,
And every *Muse* will grace the pleasing toil.

Begin, without delay, the song divine,
Let every poet in the chorus join,

To celebrate his pile, and consecrate his shrine.

On the DEATH of Mr. Richard P——, late of Oxford.

O Ever-musing contemplation, shed
Thy sacred influence round this pensive head!

Bear me to yonder melancholy scene,
Yon tapers waving o'er the moon-light green;

Yon meek-ey'd crowds, that march along so slow,
And sympathetic weep each other's woe;

Yon mournful hearse, that blackens all the place, [veys!
And that dread voice, that duff to duff con-

Shew me a youth just open'd into bloom,
Now pale and breathless in the silent tomb!
While speechless o'er the closing earth inclin'd,

(O sadly pleasing luxury of mind!)

I, ever-thoughtful, ever-pensive, sigh
His hapless doom, and learn of him to die.

Mysterious heav'n thus calls the good away
To golden mansions of eternal day:

Perhaps to save them from infectious times,
Perhaps to scourge a drowsy nation's crimes,

Perhaps in kind severity to wean
Our partial fondness for this fading scene,

Unfriendly clime! where nought its ripeness grows,

But thorny ills and bitter-tasted woes;
Where flow'ry blessings meet untimely doom,

And fall or languish in their opening bloom.
Ah! what avail'd this youth to blow so gay,

To seem so teeming with a golden May!
Ah! what avail'd, two bloomy nymphs to shed

Their heav'nly graces o'er his drooping head!
With soft excess, around his couch to pour

Their sorrows nightly in a silver show'r!
Nor bloomy nymphs with heav'nly graces crown'd,

Nor sorrows shed in silver show'rs around
With soft excess, extend his fleeting breath.

Behold it trembling at the stroke of death!
Beneath some lamp thus pale-ey'd *vestals* weep

O'er midnight pray'rs, and holy vigils keep;
The sacred fire, just spent with shining round,

But feebly quivers o'er the dark'ning ground;
Then dies away in dimly-gleaming light,

And leaves the mourners in a dreary night.
Hail, fainted pair! you made affliction smile,

And grisly death lay by his darts awhile:
'Twas double heav'n with you to yield his breath;

And he was deify'd before his death:
For sure the bow'rs of glory cannot shew

A whiter pair, than you he left below.
You still he loves, as angels love their mates, [pletes;

(Our love of heavenly objects heav'n com-
While traw'ling o'er each *Empyrean* sphere,

He reads your pictures in each seraph there.
Then softly wipe those silver-dreaming eyes,

Behold him bending from yon azure skies!
Behold him glowing in yon radiant train!

Nor mourn an angel, whom you lov'd a man!
To paint his worth, be you the *Muse's* aid!

To sing him living, as you wept him dead:
Till warm with life, the blended colours flow,

And, like your own, the heav'nly figures glow.

His look was candid as his gentle mien,
Free without lightness, without pride serene;

His manners easy, as his heart sincere,
Alike in honour and in conscience clear:

Calm

Calm and untroubled ran his stream of life,
With storms of passion, or with tides of
strife.

Nor taught by proud *ambition's* waves to flow,
Nor yet by *avarice* to ebb too low;

But gently lifted by such gales of love,
As those that breath'd in *Eden's* flow'ry grove.

His dove-like soul sat smiling on his look,
Like some fair margin on a silver brook;
'Twas humble as the grave, as heav'n sub-
lime,

Like the tall *ladder* in the patriarch's dream.

There walk'd bright angels up and down
in pairs,

As once upon those visionary stairs:

There sober *learning*, veil'd in softer grace,

Look'd like some ruby in a golden case:

There silver-footed *virtues* danc'd around,

With conqu'ring palms, and virgin laurels
crown'd;

While grave *religion*, like the highest sphere,

Rul'd all the motions of this heav'nly quire.

But now pale-ey'd in cypress wreaths they
mourn,

And mutter *dirges* o'er his hallow'd urn:

Or flying far to some long-sounding caves,

Some howling wastes, or intermingl'd graves,

Some low-brow'd nodding rock, or lonely
deep,

His loss in solemn sad'ning silence weep.

Ah, where will frozen *piety* retire

To feed her altars with such glowing fire!

Ah, where will ever-musing *patience* go,

For such a meek-ey'd partner in her woe!

Ah, where will white-rob'd *charity* e'er find

So fair an emblem of her dove-like mind!

Well might the heav'nly-pensive train bemoan

His early doom, that threatens thus their
own! [grown,

Blest saint! where virtues were to ripeness

E'er yet the flow'r of downy youth was blown.

Sure, thou wert born with ripen'd honours
crown'd,

Like those fair trees in *Eden's* sacred ground.

Thy life by glories, not by days, be told!

Thou wert in nothing, but in goodness, old.

The following Lines to the Memory of
Mr. *Milward*, were spoken by Mr. *Cibber*
on the 9th of *March*, by Way of Epilogue
to a Play that was acted for the Benefit of
his Family. They were sent to his Widow
the Day before, by the Gentleman who wrote
the *Man of Taste*.

WHEN *Rome* died each gen'rous Roman
wept,

Whilst *Cicero's* deathless page his plaudit kept;

Such was their harvest in that golden age,

Who toil'd to till the vineyard of the stage:

The Romans wept!—more gen'rous Britons! ye

Dry up the tears of *Milward's* family.

Your bounteous cares beyond the grave extend;

Lo! what a scene dead merit to befriend!

For merit sure he shar'd in ev'ry part,
Merit most rare!—integrity of heart;
Whate'er of friendly, gen'rous, good, he play'd,
In scenes of real life he still display'd:

Young *Hamlet's* fable when he chose to wear,
Young *Hamlet's* filial piety was there:

When the fond lover *Phoebus* was his part,
Each tender line sprang glowing from his heart:

Or when *Macduff's* dire anguish was his theme,
The husband and the father bled in him:

Well might he please, when with each vir-
tuous thought [fraught,

The poet penn'd, the player's breast was

Such *Milward* was, as such his early grave

Calls down the pity of the fair and brave;

Cut off just at the noontide of his days,

Just when he hop'd to have deserv'd your
praise;

The player steel'd to counterfeit the tear,

Distills an undissembled eye-drop here;

Whilst by this splendid circle fir'd, his breast }

With emulation burns, and claims his best, }

That his own *manes* may like *Milward's* rest.

On INNOCENCE.

THE beauteous mind with innocence en-
du'd,

Is in the fairest point of glory view'd;

Still light on light irradiates the pure breast,

And fills it with the pleasures of the blest;

Each sweet humane affection takes its place,

And crowns the bright'ning soul with heav'nly
grace.

So the sun shines unrival'd in the skies,

And dazzles with his beams the strongest
eyes;

Triumphant rises in gay splendors bright,

And fills the heavens with a flood of light.

JOSHUA DINSDALE.

To DAPHNIS, MIRTILLA's Harlequin,
playing with his LADY in Bed. By J.
STACIE, Esq;

HAPPY *Daphnis*, which can be
Of puppy-dogs compar'd to thee?

On *Mirtilla's* bosom lying,

Kissing her, for whom I'm dying,

O'er her endless beauties sporting,

Whilst the nymph is gayly courting,

And with hugs, and smiles, repaying

Skips, and bites, and wanton playing.

Gentle whelp, all whelps excelling,

Let us change awhile our dwelling;

Whilst some god who hears soft wishes,

Happiest thou of sons of bitches!

Lays me in thy form conceal'd,

On her lovely breast reveal'd.

Venus was not half so fair,

Meeting first the god of war!

Happy *Daphnis*, by thy aid

Could I press the charming maid,

Her *Adonis* then should be

But a puppy-dog to me.

But, oh *Daphnis*, 'twere in vain,
To expect thy form again,
After her ambrosial kisses,
And ten thousand tender blisses,
She should give, and I should take,
Happy *Daphnis*, for my sake.
No, condemn'd to secret anguish,
Wretched fighter, thou shouldst languish,
Silly animal, a lover
Without hope, or charm, to move her;
Till to streams or willows flying,
You'd too late escape by dying.

A S O N G.

Tune, When *Fanny* blooming Fair.

WHAT tho' thy face may vie
With roses red and white,
And in thy smiling eye
The little *Loves* delight?
Vain would those beauties prove,
Long to preserve my heart:
How weak the chains of *Love*,
Which *Fancy* may dispart!
To eye the blushing morn
Sometimes we take delight,
Sometimes her blushes scorn,
And wish the fable night:
Some brown girl I may view,
With locks of glossy jet,
And thy fair rosy hue
For her new charms forget.
But where shall e'er I find
A gentle soul like thine,
An easy, chearful mind,
Still fond t' enliven mine?
No—while the bee shall drink
The violet's balmy dew,
My constant heart can think
No nymph so sweet as you.

The INVOCATION.

[Humbly inscrib'd to that much honour'd and
very worthy Patriot! Sir W—T—K—N
W—LL—MS W—NE, Bart.]

ASTREA!—dear, celestial maid,
From heav'n direct thy flight;
Come, come to poor *Britannia's* aid,
An injur'd nation right.
B-b long the publick bane has been:
O! drag him from behind the screen,
Sweet goddess of the golden age!
Assist 'em at the helm;
Inspire, with a becoming rage,
The guardians of this realm:
May justice now, for once, be seen,
And drag him from behind the screen.
What!—shall an enemy so great,
So pestilent a man,
Three kingdoms at defiance set,
And ev'ry soul trepan?

Behold his proud, insulting mien!
O drag him from behind the screen.
Since now corruption's overcome,
Let all her foes confess,
That still *Britannia* dares strike home,
And all her wrongs redress;
Dares help the brave *Hungarian* queen,
And switch the snake behind the screen.
Tutelar saint!—puissant *George*!
This worst of dragons smite;
Make his great, glutt'd paunch disgorge,
And own superior might:
From thy brave lance, so long, so keen,
The monster, O! may nothing screen.
How will the nation shout for joy,
When, on thy brisk attack,
She sees the serpent sprawling lie
Upon his burnish'd back!
The beast bedeck'd with blue and green,
May no pretence, or colour screen.
Committee choice, of twenty one!
A strict inquiry make;
Do well the work that you're upon,
And cause old *B-b* to quake:
Pull down the pond'rous, huge machine,
That totters thus behind the screen.
From senators so wise, we, sure,
Great things may well expect:
True *Britons* will our trade secure,
And *R-b-n's* deeds detect;
The vessel of the state careen,
And sink the bulk behind the screen.
Brave, independent *Britons*, don't
Our expectations mock,
(No, no,—such worthy members won't,)
But bring him to the block:
Let no vile hindrance come between,
No scurvy act of grace,—no screen.
For here,—true patriots, one and all,
Compassion so misplac'd,
A kind of cruelty must call,
Or clemency debat'd:
'Tis justice, not unchristian spleen,
That cries aloud, no screen, no screen.
Their lives shall vulgar villains end,
At *Tyburn's* triple tree?
The ladder little rogues ascend,
For robbing two, or three?
To ruin realms is worse, I ween;
For such, there ought to be no screen.
Thrice noble, independent peers!
The faithful commons join;
Blow up,—brave *British* engineers,
And spring the curst mine:
Of ills the monstrous magazine,
That latent skulks behind the screen.
St. George's Day, PHALOPATIS.
Apr. 23, 1742.

We have receiv'd a Riddle, the Lines sign'd
E. K—r, &c. which shall be in our next.

Monthly Chronologer.



ARCH 31, in the Morning, his Highness the Duke of Saxe-Gotha set out for Harwich, to embark for Holland, on his Return home. (See p. 99.)

SATURDAY, April 3.

The Earl of Stair, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General, embark'd this Day for Holland. (See his Speech to the States, p. 199.)

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Limerick, Member of Parliament for Tavistock, was chosen Chairman of the Committee for inquiring into the Conduct of the Earl of Orford for ten Years past. Our Readers may take Notice, that the Hon. Alex. Hume Campbell had an Equality on the Ballot with the 3 Gentlemen mention'd in our last, p. 152, out of which 4 the Speaker chose the two, as there related.

The Sum of 500,000*l.* was granted by Parliament for the Assistance of the Queen of Hungary.

SUNDAY, 4.

This Morning about 2 a-Clock, a Scuffle happened between 5 Smugglers with Horses loaded with Tea, and a Constable and Watchman of Clerkenwell Parish, at the Bottom of the Green, when they fir'd several Pistols, and wounded the Watchman in the Arm, (who died soon after it was cut off) and the Girt of one of the Horses breaking, 5 Bags of Tea were secur'd and carried to the Watch-house; whither the Smugglers return'd in an Hour or two after, and the Door being shut, fir'd several Times thro' it, and wounded another Watchman, who died in a Day or two of the Wounds.

MONDAY, 5.

His Majesty was pleased to make the following most gracious Answer to the Address of the Right Hon. the House of Lords, which was presented him on this Day, relating to the Queen of Hungary.

My Lords,

I return you my Thanks for this dutiful and affectionate Address, and take the greatest Satisfaction in your fashionable Zeal for the Support of the House of Austria, for restoring the Balance of Power in Europe.

The Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq; Speaker of the Hon. House of Commons, resign'd his Place of Treasurer to his Majesty's Navy.

WEDNESDAY, 7.

Eight of the Malefactors condemn'd the

two last Sessions (see p. 47, 151,) were executed at Tyburn, viz. Stephen Jenkins, J^r Walden, Cbr. Jordan, Alex. Afflick, John Louden, William Plummer, Robert Lloyd, and Morgan Nowland.

SATURDAY, 10.

By Letters from Vice-Admiral Vernon and Major General Wentworth, of Feb. 11. there was Advice that Captain Lawes, with the Convoy and Transports under his Command, arriv'd at Jamaica on Jan. 15, and that his Majesty's Forces, who came with the said Convoy, being in good Condition, and those before upon the Island greatly recover'd, they were preparing, with all possible Dispatch, to put to Sea upon a new Expedition.

His Majesty's Ship the *Augusta*, Capt. Dennison, arriv'd at Portsmouth from the *West-Indies*, and brought Advice, that Commodore Anson, in the *Centurion*, who had been given over for lost, was got round the South-Sea, to the Island of *Fernando*.

TUESDAY, 13.

William Middleton, Esq; late High Sheriff for the County of Denbigh, who had been committed to Newgate by an Order of the Hon. House of Commons, for Male Practices at the Election of a Member of Parliament for that County, was discharg'd out of the said Gaol. (See p. 151.) And soon after, N. Paxton, Esq; was sent thither. (See p. 136.)

WEDNESDAY, 14.

Six of the Malefactors condemn'd at the Assizes for Surrey were executed at Guildford, viz. William Walters, for robbing Mr. Fuller and his Son on the Highway:—James Johnson and James Gurnell, for Sheep-stealing:—Tho. Williams and Tho. Jones, two very young Men but old Offenders, for stealing two Sugar-Loaves out of the Shop of Mr. Isaac Kimber, a Grocer in the Borough: And Ann Elliot, for a Burglary and Robbery.

THURSDAY, 15.

His Majesty went to the House of Peers and gave the Royal Assent to the Land Tax Bill, &c.

FRIDAY, 16.

Vice Admiral Matthews sail'd with his Squadron, consisting, as was said, of 7 Men of War, who took under their Convoy the Merchant Ships for Oporto, Lisbon, and the Mediterranean Trade.

SATURDAY, 24.

The King appointed the following Regiments of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, to be embarked as soon as possible for Flanders, to be

be there under the Command of Lieut. Gen. Honeywood, till the Arrival of the Earl of Stair, who is then to take upon himself the Command thereof, viz. The 3d and 4th Troops of Horse Guards; the 2d Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards; the King's Regiment of Horse; Major General Ligonier's. — Honeywood's, Campbell's, Hawley's, Cadogan's, Rich's, and Cope's Dragoons. — Three Battalions of Foot Guards; Howard's, Cornwallis's, Durooure's, Pulteney's, Campbell's, Perri's, Handasyd's, Huske's, Bragg's, Ponsonby's, Johnson's, and Bligh's.

His Majesty also appointed the following General Officers to command the said Troops, viz. Field Marshal, Earl of Stair. — Lieutenants General, Honeywood, Earl of Dunmore, and Campbell. — Majors General, Howard, Cope, Ligonier, Hawley, and Earl of Albemarle. — Brigadiers, Cornwallis, Earl of Epsom, Pulteney, Bragg, Huske, and Ponsonby.

TUESDAY, 27.

This Morning about 8 o'Clock, his Majesty went from St. James's to Blackheath, and reviewed two of the Regiments ordered for Flanders; one of them march'd directly to Deptford, and the other to Woolwich, where they embark'd in the Ships appointed to receive them, and fell down the River soon after.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who came of Age on the 15th Instant, was introduc'd into the House of Peers, and placed in the Chair on the Throne on the King's Left Hand.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

CHARLES Petersfield, Esq; of Northamptonshire, to Miss Digby. — Dr. James Hibbins, an eminent Physician at Mile-End-Green, to Miss Chase. — Rev. Dr. Shaw, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, to Mrs. Holden. — Matt. Lee, of Exon, Esq; to Miss Jane Huckle of St. Martin's le Grand. — Sir Griffith Baynton, Bart. to Miss White. — Tho. Phipps, Esq; a Director of the E. India Comp. and Son to Governor Phipps, to Miss Peakham of Suffolk. — Wm. Greaves, Esq; Commissary of the University of Cambridge, to Mrs. Eliz. Beaupre Bell. — Edw. Lilly, Esq; of Ongar in Essex, to Miss Mary Chorone. — John Honeywood, Esq; Grandson to Sir Wm. Honeywood, Bart. to Miss Filmer, eldest Daughter of Sir Edw. Filmer, Bart. — Thomas Ripley, Esq; to Miss Bucknal of Hampton, a 40,000 l. Fortune. — The Lady of Thomas Winsford, Esq; Member of Parl. for Hereford, deliver'd of a Daughter. — Lady of Sir Nich. Hocket Carew, Bart. of a Son and Heir. — Countess of Halifax, of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

SIR Francis Molinex, Bart. whose Ancestors enter'd England with William the Conqueror: He is succeeded by his eldest surviving Son, now Sir Cha. Molinex, Bart. — Lady Mary Agnew, in Scotland, Relict of

Sir James Agnew, Bart. — Lady Ashburnham, Wife of Sir Wm. Ashburnham, Bart. — Right Hon. the Lady Lucy Vane, Mother of Lord Viscount Vane. — Addison Hutton, M. D. of Queen's College, Oxford, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and F. R. S. and one of the Physicians of St. George's Hospital. — Rt. Hon. Tho. Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry in Ireland: He is succeeded by his eldest Son Wm. Lord Fitzmaurice, now Earl of Kerry. — Dame Eliz. Hamilton, Widow of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Bart. — Capt. Henry Hoadley, in the Service of the E. India Company, a near Relation of the Bishop of Winchester. — Rev. Nat. Salmon, L. L. B. (Brother to Mr. Tho. Salmon, of Cambridge, who wrote the Modern History) Author of several Works on the Subject of English History and Antiquities. — Mr. John Townsend, Mason, one of the Common-Council Men for Castle-Baynard Ward, and Brother to the late Mr. Townsend, of Oxford, well known for his many noble Structures in that Place. — Mr. James Whitlock, of Cambridge, whose Grandfather was created a Baronet by Oliver Cromwell. — Dr. Douglas, an eminent Man-Midwife. — Rt. Hon. John Howe, Lord Chedworth, so created in May last: He is succeeded by his eldest Son John, now Lord Chedworth. — John Shafte, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for the City of Durham. — Sir John Bull, Knt. an eminent Turkey Merchant. — Sir Edw. Ward, of Bixley-Hall in Norfolk, Bart. who dying a Bachelor, is succeeded by his Brother, now Sir Randal Ward, Bart. — Dr. Tho. Brifhine, Professor of Botany and Anatomy in the University of Glasgow. — Rev. and Learned Moses Williams, A. M. Rector of Bridgwater, and F. R. S. He was Co-adjutor with the ingenious Dr. Watton in collecting a Book call'd Howell's Laws, in Welsh and Latin. — Sir Cha. Bunbury, Bart. Member of Parl. for the City of Chester, succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his only Brother, now Sir Wm. Bunbury, Bart. Vicar of Mildenhall in Suffolk. — Rev. Mr. Siffon, Rector of Malmesbury in Wiltshire. — Her Grace the Duchess of Cleveland, Wife of the present Duke. — Jo. Roberts, Esq; Serjeant Plumber to his Majesty. — Rev. Mr. Mills, Master of the Hospital and Free-School at Croydon, and Rector of Measham in Surry. — Governor Shute, who was Great Uncle to the Lord Visc. Barrington. — Thomas Gibson, Esq; eldest Son to the Bishop of London, and one of the chief Clerks of the Treasury. — John Armstrong, Esq; Major General and Quarter-Master General of his Majesty's Forces, Col. of the Royal Reg. of Foot of Ireland, Surveyor General of the Ordnance, and his Majesty's chief Engineer. — Henry Lord Visc. St. John, Baron St. John of Battersea, so created a Geo. I. Father of Henry late Lord Visc. Bolingbroke: He died aged near 90, and is succeeded by his second

Son John, now Lord Viscount St. John.—Sir Tho. Berney, Bart. who is succeeded by his eldest Son, now Sir Hanson Berney, Bart.—Sam. Gateward, Esq; Recorder of Cambridge, and last Year Treasurer of the Middle Temple.—Hon. Master James Petty, Son to the Lord Vise. Dunkerton.—Dr. Tho. Dower, famous for administering Quicksilver to his Patients, in the 85th Year of his Age.

[Ecclesiastical Preferments in our next.]

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

JOHN Vere, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Duties on Salt.—John Pollen, Esq; one of the Welch Judges.—Andrew Stone, Esq; Secretary of the Island of Barbados.—Lieut. Peter Burville, Commander of the Comet Bomb-Ketch.—Belle-guard, Esq; Under-Secretary of State in Lord Carteret's Office.—Capt. Noel, Colonel of a Comp. in the 2d Reg. of Foot Guards, in the Room of the Earl of Berkeley who resign'd: And Lieut. Williamson succeeds Capt. Noel.—Peter Perry, Esq; appointed by the Duke of Grafton, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, to be Serjeant at Arms to the Lord Mayor of London.—Mr. Pye made one of the Commissioners of Bankrupts, in the Room of Mr. Fransham, deceased.—William Whitmore, Esq; made Lieutenant Col. of Col. Durore's Reg. of Foot, and Capt. Edw. Phillips Major in his Room.—Charles Brown, Esq; made Principal Officer of the Navy for the Affairs of the King's Yards at Chatham and Sheerness, in the Room of Vice-Admiral Matthews.—James Stewart, Esq; and Sir Charles Hardy appointed Rear-

Admirals of the Blue.—Lieut. Barnard made Capt. in the Royal Reg. of Welsh Fusiliers; and Lieut. Inzard succeeds him as Adjutant.—Rt. Hon. William Earl Fitzwilliam of the Kingdom of Ireland, created a Baron of the Kingdom of Great Britain, by the Name, Style and Title of Lord Fitzwilliam, Baron of Milton in the County of Northampton.—Rich. Edgcumbe, Esq; created a Baron of Great Britain, by the Name, Style and Title of Baron Edgcumbe, of Mount Edgcumbe in the County of Devon.—Earl of Stair made Governor of Minorca, in the Room of the Earl of Hertford.—Hon. Col. Lascelles, Master-Surveyor of the Ordnance, in the Room of Major-Gen. Armstrong, deceased.—Humfrey Bland, Esq; Quarter-Master-General of the Forces, in the Room of the said late Major-General.

New Members chosen, &c.

Robert Harley, Esq; for Leominster, in the Room of John Caswall, Esq; deceased.—Lord Baltimore declared by the Sheriff duly elected for the County of Surrey, he having refus'd the Scrutiny. (See p. 152.)—Lord Archibald Hamilton for Dartmouth, in the Room of Geo. Treby, Esq; deceased.—Lord Vise. Darbush, eldest Son of the Earl of Coventry, for Bridport in Dorsetshire.—Robert Craigy, Esq; for the Burghs of Kirkwall, Dingwall, Tain, &c. in the Room of Charles Areskine, Esq; whose Election was declared void upon the Petition of Sir Robert Munro, Bart.—Andrew Stone, Esq; rechosen for the Borough of Hastings.

[Bankrupts in our next.]

STOCKS.

S. Sea 105 $\frac{1}{8}$	African 10
—Ann. 113 $\frac{1}{2}$	Royal Aff. 86
Bank 137 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	Lon. ditto 11
—Circ. 41 15s 17s 6d	3 p. C. Ann. 101
M. Bank 112	Salt Tallies $\frac{1}{2}$
India 159 $\frac{1}{2}$	Emp. Loan 70 $\frac{1}{2}$
—Bonds 41 6s 17s	Equiv. 112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 34 11 a 35 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bilboa nothing done
D. Sight 34 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	Leghorn 50
Rotter. 35 2	Genoa 53 $\frac{2}{3}$
Hamb. 33 7 2 a 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Venice 51
Paris 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$	Lisbon 5s 5d $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Bourde. 31	Porto 5s 5d
Cadix 39 $\frac{1}{8}$	Antw. 35 2 a 1
Madrid nothing done	Dublin 10 $\frac{3}{4}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 27 28	Pease 25 27 6
Rye 18 19	H. Pease 19 23 6
Barley 18 20	H. Beans 21 24
Oats 10 14	B. Malt 22 23
Tares 27 28	P. Malt 22 23 6

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Mar. 23, to Apr. 20.

Christned	{ Males 545 }	{ Females 486 }	1031
Buried	{ Males 1177 }	{ Females 1212 }	2389
Died under 2 Years old			766
Between 2 and 5			267
5	10		85
10	20		84
20	30		192
30	40		258
40	50		234
50	60		195
60	70		145
70	80		104
80	90		53
90 and upwards			6
			2389

Hay 5s to 54s. a Load.

THE

THE Dutch having resolved to make a considerable Augmentation in their Forces both by Sea and Land, as formerly mentioned, in order to defray the Charge thereof, the States of *Holland* and *Westfriesland* published an Ordinance on the 17th of last Month, for imposing a Tax as follows, viz. All those who have a Revenue from Lands, Trade, or any Thing else, of 600 *Florins* a Year, or upwards to 12,000 *Florins* a Year, are to pay at the Rate of one *Florin* for each Hundred; Those who have a Revenue of 12,000 *Florins* a Year, are to pay 300 *Florins* a Year; and all those whose Revenue exceeds 12,000 *Florins* a Year, are to pay at the Rate of 50 *Florins* a Year for every 1000 they have of annual Income. Thus we see the wise States of *Holland* fall upon a Way of raising Money for the publick Service, without burdening the Poor, incommoding their Trade, or increasing the Number of their Publicans or Tax-gatherers, who in all Countries must be a Nuisance to the People; and there is nothing more just than that those who are immensely rich, should pay more in Proportion than Gentlemen of moderate Fortunes.

By our Advices both from *Holland* and *France*, as well as from *Jamaica*, it appears certain, that Commodore *Anson* is safe in the *South-Sea*, notwithstanding the dismal Accounts brought us from the *Severn* and *Pearl* Men of War, who parted from him in a Storm, on the other Side *Cape Horn*, and seem to have suffered more by returning than he did by proceeding; for the Accounts from *Holland* say, that after he had made several Descents, and got rich Booties, on the Coast of *Chili* and *Peru*, as well as on the Islands along that Coast, he steered towards the Isthmus of *Panama* or *Darien*, and in his Way thither, he made a Descent and destroyed the Town of *Payta*, in the Province of *Quito*.

The Term for the Suspension of Arms between *Muscovy* and *Sweden* having expired towards the End of *Feb.* the *Muscovite* General in *Finland* sent Notice thereof to the *Swedish* General there, and two Days after this Notice given, the former detached a large Body of *Cossacks*, with about 200 *Dragoons*, who made an Inroad into the *Swedish* *Finland*, almost to the Gates of *Fredericksham*, and brought back a large Booty with a great Number of Prisoners; so that the War is recommenced between these two Nations, and tho' the *Swedes* have fallen much in their Demands, it is like to continue for some Time, the *Muscovites* being resolved to grant them nothing; and as their Army, which is much more numerous than the *Swedish* Army, was, by our last Accounts from thence, in full March towards the *Swedish* Frontier, we may probably soon have an Account of some important Action from that Quarter.

Since our last Accounts from *Germany*, the following are the most important: From *Bavaria*, That Count *Kreuthuller* having Advice that the *Bavarian* General Count *Thoring* had posted himself, with a considerable Body of Troops, in the Neighbourhood of *Laudsberg*, with Intent to dispute the Passage of his Troops through the narrow Defiles thereabouts, he sent Baron *Berenclau*, with a Detachment to attack them, who marched up the *Danube* with such Expedition, that he passed all the narrow Defiles, before the Enemy had Notice of his Approach, whereupon they retired with so much Precipitation that they left all their Magazines and Hospitals behind them. That General *Thoring* having afterwards attempted to retake *Kilsheim*, whilst he was engaged in that Enterprise, Baron *Berenclau* came and attacked him, when after a sharp Dispute, the *Bavarians* were entirely defeated, and 300 made Prisoners, amongst whom were the Count *Beaujeau* and his Brother, the Count *Preysing*, the Barons *Weibel* and *Uberaker*, and the Capt. *Minuzzi*. Besides the Army under Count *Kreuthuller*, another Body of *Hungarian* Troops having crossed the Archbishoprick of *Saltzburg*, have entered *Bavaria* on that Side, and have made themselves Masters of the Town of *Reichenhall*.

From *Bohemia* we hear, that the Army of the Allies has been for some Time employed in carrying on the Siege of *Egra*, but we have not as yet heard of its Surrender, nor do we hear of the *Austrian* Army's marching to its Relief; and from *Moravia* our Accounts are, that the *Prussian* and *Saxon* Armies had formed the Blockade of *Brimm*, as if they intended to besiege it in Form; but all of a sudden the King of *Prussia* retired, with Intention, as is said, to facilitate his being joined by a Body of 18,000 Men, which the Prince *Anhalt Dessau* is bringing to him through *Lusatia*. In his Retreat, his Rear suffered a good deal by the *Austrian* Hussars; and the *Saxon* Troops being likewise obliged to retire, General *Philibert* was detached by Prince *Charles* of *Lorain* with 2000 Horse and 1000 *Croatians*, to harass them in their Retreat, who happened to meet with the *Saxon* Regiment of *Cosel*, Infantry, near *Offaw*, which he entirely defeated, 340 of them being killed on the Spot, and 188 taken Prisoners, among whom was the Colonel, and almost all the Officers of Note were either killed or taken.

As the *Spanish* Troops in *Italy* remain still in the Ecclesiastical State, and as the King of *Sardinia* refuses to march against them, unless they begin Hostilities, all Things remain as yet quiet in that Part of the World; and as the Duke of *Montemar*, the *Spanish* General, has hired a Company of Players to act Opera's to him at *Rimini*, 'tis probable that Hostilities will not soon begin.

ARCHI-

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